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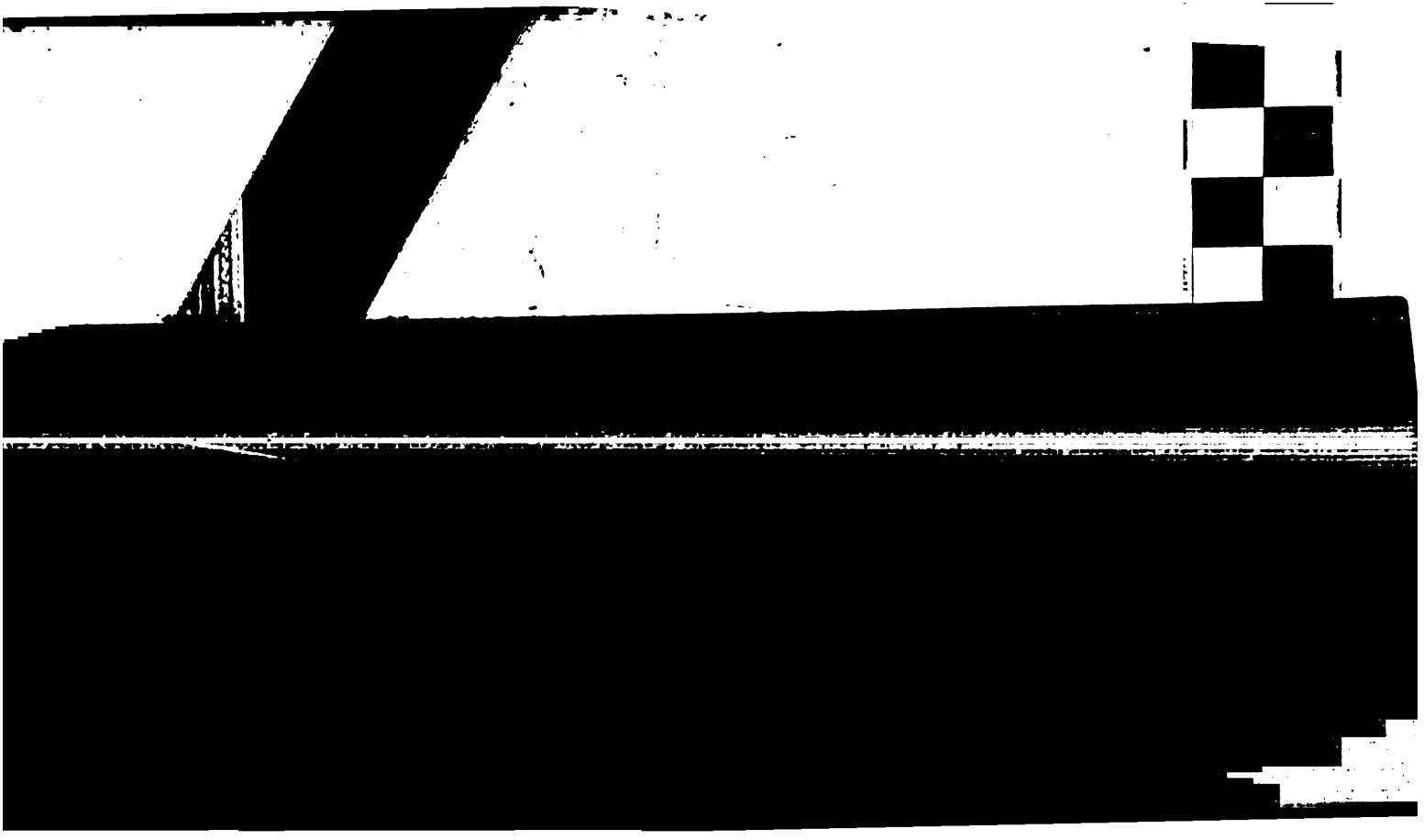

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TRANSACTIONS.

OCTOBER, 1900, TO MARCH, 1902.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME VI.

OCTOBER, 1900, TO MARCH, 1902.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

BY BLADES, EAST & BLADES.

—

FEBRUARY, 1903.

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—

DECEMBER, 1901.

Bishop Vertue, and Mr. H. S. Ashbee. When their health permitted, Mr. Mathieson and Bishop Vertue both frequently attended the Society's Meetings, and will thus have been known to many Members. Mr. Ashbee was not only one of the originators of the Society and a Member of Council, but an enthusiastic and generous worker. His *Iconography of Don Quixote* was printed at his own expense and sold to the Society at a fourth of its cost, and by his will the remaining copies and the engraved plates for the illustrations have become the absolute property of the Society. Mr. Ashbee proposed to expand his paper on the other works of Cervantes in a similar way, and was in correspondence with the Hon. Secretary on the subject within a few days of his death. The Society has had no more generous friend, and his *Iconography of Don Quixote* will long remain as a monument of his painstaking and accurate work."

BALANCE SHEET.—29th November, 1899, to 30th November, 1900, inclusive.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
By Balance, 1899	267	1	5	Printing	332	16	7
Life Subscriptions	37	16	0	Illustrations	105	13	0
Subscriptions for 1899 ...	7	7	0	Copying and Researches ...	7	12	6
British Subscriptions for 1900	214	4	0	Vote for Library	14	1	6
United States Subscriptions for 1900	80	12	9	Rent	20	0	0
Foreign Subscriptions for 1900	27	6	0	Expenses at Meetings ...	12	9	6
Subscriptions for 1901 ...	1	1	0	Hon. Secretary's Expenses ...	4	4	0
Entrance Fees	9	9	0	Assistance to Hon. Secretary .	6	13	0
Sale of Publications to Members	23	0	3	Hon. U.S. Secretary's Expenses	1	1	0
Interest on Investments ...	10	6	2	Hon. Treasurer's Expenses ...	1	17	0
				Bank Charges and Exchange .	0	1	2
				Balance	171	14	4
	£678	3	7		£678	3	7

ROBERT E. GRAVES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have compared the above with the Pass Book and Vouchers and find it correct.

5th December, 1900. EDWARD ALMACK, J. ARNOLD GREEN, } *Auditors.*

Assets.	£	s.	d.	Liabilities.	£	s.	d.
£100 2½% Consols	98	0	0	Estimated Liability for 25 Life Members	262	10	0
£200 4% N.S.W. Stock ...	207	0	0	Estimated Cost of completing Books for the year... ...	140	0	0
Stock of Publications ...	300	0	0				
Balance of Account for 1899	171	14	4				

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, December 17th, at 5 p.m., Dr. Garnett, Past-President, in the Chair.

After the minutes of the previous meeting had been read and confirmed, the Annual Report, as printed above, was read, and its adoption and that of the Balance Sheet moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

In reply to Mr. F. S. Ellis, it was stated that the reasons for printing such an imperfect piece of work as the anonymous *Index to Dibdin's Ames*, were given in the preface to the reprint. The old *Index*, though irritatingly bad, was of some use, and worth the few pounds it cost to print.

On the proposition of Mr. Wheatley, seconded by Mr. Redgrave, the thanks of the Society were offered to Mr. John Macfarlane for his Monograph on *Antoine Vérard*, and to Mr. W. W. Greg for his *List of English Plays*.

The election of Mr. Francis Jenkinson, M.A., Librarian of the University of Cambridge, as President for the year 1901, was then proposed by Dr. Garnett from the Chair and carried by acclamation. On the motion of Mr. Wheatley, Mr. W. W. Greg was elected to the seat on the Council vacated by the regretted death of Mr. H. S. Ashbee, and on the motion of Mr. Frederick Clarke, the other Members of Council and Officers of the Society were re-elected. A vote of thanks to the Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary for their services during the year brought the business of the Annual Meeting to a close.

DECEMBER MONTHLY MEETING.

After the Annual Meeting, the ordinary Monthly Meeting was held, Mr. Faber, Vice-President, taking the place of Dr. Garnett in the Chair, and a Paper was read by Mr. G. F. Barwick on *A Copy of Ptolemy Bound for Mary Queen of Scots*.

This Paper has been already printed as No. IX of the Society's Illustrated Monographs, but for the sake of completeness, a summary of it is given here.

SUMMARY:—After a few words on the importance of the Geography of Ptolemy, in regard to early voyages and geographical discovery, Mr. Barwick pointed out that the interest of this copy of the fine edition printed at Rome by Petrus de Turre in 1490, consisted in the facts that it was illuminated for one of the Frescobaldi of Florence, and afterwards sumptuously bound for Mary Queen of Scots. The illuminations comprise the arms of the Frescobaldi (party per fess or, and gules charged with three chess rooks argent), a border to the first page of text made up of graceful epergnes with flowers, birds and children, and a repetition of the Frescobaldi arms, a conventional portrait of Ptolemy in the first initial letter, and 195 smaller painted initials, which show great variety of treatment. The maps also are all richly coloured, the coast lines of the countries standing out very clearly against the brilliant blue of the sea. The Frescobaldi for whom the book was thus ornamented were a Florentine family of the highest rank, connected in a most interesting way with Italian literature and Italian travel, through Dino Frescobaldi the friend of Dante, and Niccolò the traveller. After their expulsion from Florence, they are found as bankers at Lyons, and it is most probable that the present copy of Ptolemy came into France by that route. It may possibly have passed into the possession of Mary Queen of Scots through Diane de Poitiers (a great lover of fine bindings), to whose friendship Mary makes several allusions in her letters.

The binding is of the style known as that of Nicholas Eve, and the device in the centre contains the monogram of Mary and Francis, composed of the Greek letters M and Φ interlaced, surmounted by the French crown, and surrounded by the words *sa vertu m'atire*, an anagram of Mary Stewart. The device appears in identical form on a silver bell that belonged to Mary, while the monogram occurs on her signet ring at the British Museum. The anagram is mentioned in a letter from Drummond of

Hawthornden to Ben Jonson, dated July 1, 1619, describing "a bed of state (*i.e.*, a coverlet), wrought and embroidered all with gold and silke by the late Quene Marie, mother of our sacred Soverayne." Drummond remarks that as an anagram *sa vertu m'atire* is not much inferior to the rival rendering *veritas armata* (Maria Steuart). It may be compared with the *Ie charme tout* which the courtiers of Charles IX found in the name of Marie Touchet, though neither is so ingenious as the sentence *c'est l'enfer qui m'a créé* applied to "Frère Jacques Clément," the assassin of Henri III.

Taking the accumulated evidence of the coverlet, which it seems likely was worked by Mary as part of her trousseau, the signet ring which bears the joint monogram and the bell, which, like the Ptolemy, bears the monogram surmounted by the crown of France and surrounded by the anagram, we may conclude that the book was bound during the short period that Mary was Queen of France, *i.e.*, between July, 1559, and December, 1560; had it been earlier than this, we should probably have found a dolphin on the binding instead of the crown of France.

How the Ptolemy came into the possession of the Duke of Marlborough is unknown, but early in the sixties, Mr. A. W. Franks (as he was then) saw it at Blenheim and drew the attention of the Duchess to its historical interest. Some twenty years later (March, 1883), when the Sunderland Library came to be sold, Mr. Franks failed at first to find the Ptolemy in the Catalogue, but discovered it eventually at page 1022, described as "in brown Venetian morocco of the 16th century, with elaborate and artistic ornamental gilt tooling in floreate and other scroll-work designs, initials I.M.O. in a monogram in centre, surmounted by the imperial crown, surrounded by the motto *sa vertu m'atire.*" A request to Mr. Quaritch to take a commission to bid for the volume, was met by a characteristic refusal on the ground that he himself was prepared to give twice as much for it as it was worth, a remark based apparently only on the intrinsic beauty of the binding and illumination, as Mr. Quaritch had not discovered the secret of its ownership, which was a good deal obscured by the cataloguer's description. Despite this refusal, a reminder by Mr. Franks

that he had been one of his earliest customers, was rewarded by a letter from Mr. Quaritch on the day of sale, announcing that he had acquired the book for £450, and that if Mr. Franks would decide at once to give £500 it should be his. On these terms it was promptly acquired, and by Sir Wollaston Franks' will is now the property of Mr. C. H. Read, his successor in the Keepership of the Department of Mediæval Antiquities in the British Museum.

JANUARY MEETING.

On Monday, January 21st, Mr. Jenkinson, who was elected President of the Society at the Annual Meeting in December, took the Chair for the first time. After alluding to the grave national anxiety as to the health of the Queen amid which the Society met, Mr. Jenkinson referred to the great loss it had recently suffered by the deaths of Mlle. Pellechet and Mr. R. C. Christie. He then presented to the Society an advance copy of Vol. I of the Catalogue of English Books printed up to 1640 in the University Library of Cambridge, the work of one of our Members, Mr. Charles Sayle; and, alluding to some instances of the mutilation of books in the process of casing them, which had come under his notice, expressed the hope that the Society might at some future time issue a protest against such practices. Dr. J. F. Payne then read a paper on the *Herbarius* and *Hortus Sanitatis*, printed in full in the present volume.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

On Monday, February 18th, Mr. Faber, Vice-President, in the Chair, Mr. W. W. Greg read a paper on *Some Points in the Bibliography of the English Drama.*

This paper is being printed with some kindred matter as a supplementary volume to Mr. Greg's *List of Plays*. The usual Summary is therefore here given.

SUMMARY:—The earliest lists of printed plays are contained in Humphrey Moseley's advertisements at the end of some of his new books, *e.g.*, in his edition of *No Wit, No Help like a Woman's*, published in 1657.

These advertisements are sometimes interesting as supplying information concerning editions no longer extant, but are seldom of much real value, since they are usually late and the editions concerned for the most part unimportant reprints. In the meantime, however, play-collecting had begun, and some enterprising publishers started a second hand trade in them. Thus in 1656, or rather according to a manuscript note in the British Museum copy on August 6th, 1655, a stationer, Edward Archer, dwelling at the sign of the Adam and Eve in Little Britain, issued a play by Massinger, Middleton and Rowley, entitled *The Old Law*, to which he appended "An exact and perfect Catalogue of all the Plaies that were ever printed; together, with all the Authors' names; and what are Comedies, Histories, Interludes, Masks, Pastorels, Tragedies: And all these Plaies you may either have at the sign of the Adam and Eve in Little Britain; or, at the Ben Johnson's Head in Threadneedle Street, over against the Exchange." The plays are arranged in alphabetical order, the nature of each being indicated by one of the letters C, H, I, M, P, T, placed after the title. In many cases the name of the author is added, but the compiler does not appear to have had any knowledge of the subject beyond what could be gathered from the title pages to the plays themselves, and he sometimes omits the author's name in cases where it must have been a matter of common knowledge. The list runs to some 600 items, and includes a certain number of titles that have not been identified. Its pretensions to accuracy are not of a very high order, as may be gathered from the fact that *All's Well* is classed as an interlude, that *Phillis of Sciros* appears as "*Scirio and Phillis*," that *Arden of Feversham* is attributed to Richard Bernard (the translator of Terence), the *Faithful Shepherdess* to John Dymmocke (by confusion with the early translation of the *Pastor Fido*), "*Love's Labour's Lost*" to Will. Sampson (author of the *Vow Breaker*), and finally the *Trick to Catch the Old One* to Will. Shakespeare. On the title page of the volume where the catalogue is duly mentioned, it is said to be "more exactly printed than ever before." What earlier lists had appeared I cannot say, for since the play, as we have seen above, was antedated by some seven months, it can hardly refer to that at the end of Goffe's

Careless Shepherdess, which bears the same date, 1656. This, which calls itself "An exact and perfect Catalogue of all Plays that are Printed," and is likewise mentioned on the title page to the play, is a much less ambitious effort, not including more than some 500 titles, making no attempt at indicating the nature of the play, and seldom adding the author's name.

The best known of these early play-collectors was Francis Kirkman, who started in the publishing trade immediately after the Restoration, and has left an interesting account of his business in the preface to some of his editions, *e.g.*, in that to *A Cure for a Cuckold*, published in 1661.

Francis Kirkman published his first catalogue in 1661, and a revised and enlarged one in 1671, at the end of John Duncan's translation of the *Nicomede* of Pierre Corneille. In an "advertisement" at the end of this he states that his former catalogue contained 690 plays, the present one 806. These figures include of course Masques, an addition which is responsible for his statement that Jonson wrote fifty plays. The additions in the later catalogue are mostly to be accounted for by a hundred plays printed between 1661 and 1671. He also states that he had seen all these plays "within two," and possessed them all "within thirty." He gives the author's name, title of the play, and letters to indicate its nature. These latter are the same as in Archer's catalogue, with the addition of T C for "tragi-comedy." The list cannot, of course, lay claim to any very high authority—the ascription of *Solimus* to Goffe would alone put that out of the question—but it is a very careful compilation, of a very different sort from those mentioned above.

After comments on Winstanley's *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687), Langbaine's *Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (final form, 1691), Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* (1764, 1782, 1811), Halliwell's *Dictionary of Old Plays* (1860), and Hazlitt's *Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays* (1892), occasion was taken to confess the admission into Mr. Greg's own list of a forgery, the edition of *Solimon and Persida*, entered first on p. 129, having really been printed about 1815. Attention was then drawn to the two issues of *Troilus and Cressida*,

published in 1609, the cancelling of the title-page and substitution of a half sheet containing a new title and an enigmatic preface being attributed to some remonstrance by Shakespeare or his company against the piracy. The 1638 issue of *The First Part of the Tragicall Raigne of Solimus* was then quoted as an example of a title-page reprinted to sell off old stock (that of the edition of 1594), while in Tomkis' *Albumazar* of 1615, we have the rarer case of the same title-page being used for two distinct editions. Of the habit of correcting the text while a work was being printed off, the first quarto of *King Lear* was quoted as the classical example, no two of the twelve known copies agreeing throughout. An even more interesting case, that of the 1616 folio of Ben Jonson's *Works*, which has hitherto escaped notice, was exhaustively examined, as also were the peculiarities of the second volume of the 1640 edition, and those of the posthumous collection (1638) of the Works of Thomas Randolph. The last cause of confusion illustrated was the habit of reprinting old imprints, as in Herringman's 1676 edition of *The Works of Sir John Suckling*, in which occur the imprints of editions issued by Humphrey Moseley in 1648, 1658 and 1659, besides one of Herringman's own, dated 1672.

MARCH MEETING.

On Monday, March 18th, Mr. Faber, Vice-President, in the Chair, Mr. A. J. Butler read a paper on *Some Elizabethan Cipher-Books*, printed in full in the present volume.

NOTICES OF ENGLISH STATIONERS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

By H. R. PLOMER.

Read 15th October, 1900.

WHEN in the early part of the present year I obtained permission to search the records of the City of London, for notices of the early printers, I was in hopes that I should be able to add considerably to the few facts that are already known of their history. We know that printers were at work in London very soon after Caxton's settlement at Westminster, so that it seemed only reasonable to suppose that the archives of the city in which they lived, and whose laws they had to obey, should furnish authentic and interesting facts about their lives and work.

My search has now come to an end, and while it has not been altogether fruitless, I must confess that it has not yielded as much as I expected.

To give a clear idea of what has been attempted, I will first briefly describe of what the Records of the City of London consist. The most ancient of them are a series of volumes known as the Letter Books, not because they contain correspondence, but because they are lettered alphabetically on the backs. These Letter Books were the predecessors of the

Repertories and Journals to be described presently, but about the year 1495 they became simply books of transcripts, in which fair copies of resolutions and laws passed by the civic authorities were entered.

The Repertories were the minute books of the Court of Aldermen. Each volume contains some three or four hundred folios, written in the free hand of the period, with many erasures and interlineations, and frequently with uncompleted entries. One of the things which the searcher begins to learn very soon after he becomes acquainted with these books is, that the City acted as a tender father to the children of its freemen. After a few pages he begins to notice what a number of entries there are respecting orphans. By the end of the first volume he begins to get just a little tired of orphans, but when his search extends, as mine did, through a long series of volumes, the orphans and their civic guardians are wished at the bottom of the Thames.

The Journals are the minute-books of the Court of Common Council. These also are bulky volumes, and contain much that is a mere repetition of the contents of the Repertories, but as matters sometimes came before the Court of Common Council which were not noticed in the Repertories, the Journals contain information not to be found in the other series.

To these two series of volumes there is a subject index. As a specimen of beautiful handwriting it leaves nothing to be desired, but as an index it is by no means easy of reference, as the entries, instead of being arranged one under the other, run on continuously, and the lines are packed together so closely that the eye sees nothing but a solid mass of entries, and the labour of searching is thereby greatly increased. Those given under "Printing" are very few, and I may say at once that none of those with which I shall deal to-night were found under that heading.

Next in importance come the Hustings Rolls, upon which were entered the wills of all freemen, and also all deeds relating to property. The wills, or rather abstracts of them, have been edited by Dr. Sharpe in two volumes well known as the *Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of*

Hustings. An index of names in these rolls is now in course of preparation, under the same able editorship, and will, when completed, be a very valuable aid to the searcher.

After the Hustings Rolls may be placed the Writs and Pleadings in the Lord Mayor's Court. These records go back to the days of the Plantagenets, but all the documents for the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Edward VI are missing. The other documents belonging to this ancient Court, such as depositions, decrees, and so forth, are in an even worse state, for the earliest is subsequent to the Fire of London.

In addition to these there exists in the vaults of the Guildhall an immense number of Inventories. The civic authorities, in their parental capacity, compelled the executors or next of kin of every freeman who died to bring into the Orphans' Court within a certain time an inventory of the real and personal estate of the deceased. This custom was in force long before the advent of the printer, and if these records were complete I might have had some extremely valuable and interesting information for you. But fate in this, as in other instances, has been unkind to us. There are five large chests in the vault filled with Inventories, bundled in without order or arrangement, to which, so far as I could learn, there is no calendar or list of any kind. To have overhauled them all would have taken several weeks, but I sampled each chest, and the earliest I met with was for the year 1650.

These are all the available records of the City of London. I was in hopes that somewhere in the vaults there might be other records, such as correspondence, old merchants' books, invoices, or other miscellaneous documents, that would serve to illustrate the trade and life of the early London printers. But, apparently, not a leaf escaped the ravages of the Great Fire, and we must be thankful that the official books of the Corporation were saved from the almost universal destruction.

Of these various classes of records, the most important for my purpose were the Repertories and Journals, and finding that the Index to these

was of little use, I determined upon a page by page search through as many of the volumes as I could get through in the time allotted to me, confining myself to the period before the incorporation of the Stationers' Company in the reign of Mary. Some such search had been previously made by Mr. Bridger for Professor Arber, while he was compiling his Transcript, but I was unable to gain any information as to whether Mr. Bridger had made a systematic or only a partial search of the volumes, and therefore resolved to begin in the hope of picking up something that he might have missed. In all I searched twelve Repertories, six Journals, three Letter Books, a few Hustings Rolls, and a few bundles of the pleadings in the Lord Mayor's Court for the reign of Elizabeth.

In comparison with the mention of other trades, the entries relating to stationers in the Repertories and Journals are very meagre. Had I been seeking material for a history of the Mercers, Grocers, Butchers, Fishmongers, or Tallow Chandlers, I should have come away, day after day, laden with interesting memoranda, but references to the stationers were few and far between. The explanation is simple, if disappointing. Though their existence as a trade guild can be traced back into the early years of the fifteenth century, they were not reckoned among the Livery Companies of the City until after their incorporation in 1555, and consequently the record of their trade disputes, their rules, the prices of their goods, and other matters, which in the cases of the other companies I have mentioned are so frequently met with in the pages of these books, are altogether wanting. Again, the term "stationer" included many kindred trades, and some of those described as "stationers" were certainly not printers, and cannot even be identified as booksellers. That some of the earlier printers, among them Machlinia, Lettou, and Wynkyn de Worde, are looked for in vain, is partly due, no doubt, to the fact that they were foreigners.* The freemen of the City of London were, as you know,

It was pointed out in the discussion on this paper that any persons not connected with the City were called Foreigners, although of English birth; but that these printers were aliens by birth no doubt made it more difficult for them to obtain admission to the privileges of the City.

extremely jealous of foreigners, and this feeling shows itself throughout these volumes, foreigners being excluded from holding property, and frequently from carrying on any trade.

The earliest printer of whom I found any mention is Richard Pynson Hitherto, the list of printers to the City of London has been headed by Hugh Singleton, in 1583, but the three following entries in the Repertories show that the Corporation availed itself of the art of printing at a much earlier date.

The first occurs in Repertory 3 (f. 201), and is dated the 23rd March, 1517 :—"Item, At this court Ric. Pynson boke prynter brought in a bill of the sum of liiijs. for pryntyng of bokes for this citie, Whereuppon it is agreed that the Chamberleyn shall agree with him as well as he can by his discretion."

The same printer is again referred to in Repertory 8 (f. 11), under date of the 10th December, 20 Henry VIII (*i.e.*, 1528):—"At this court it is agreed that the Chamberleyn shall by his discreccion agre with Ric. Pynson, the king's boke prynter, for certayn bills and other proclamations, whereof the summe that he demaundeth by his bill amounteth to xxxvijs. iijd., that notwithstanding he must be contented with less."

Neither books nor proclamations printed by Pynson for the City of London are now known. Indeed there are very few books relating to the City which we can even suppose that Pynson may have printed. These are chiefly Orders published by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and Acts of the Common Council, such as were printed by Grafton and Singleton at a later date.

The third entry is ten years later, and occurs in Repertory 10 (f. 172):—"Item. That Mr Chamberleyn shall pay unto the prynter Thomas Gibson for diverse papers and other bookes prynted by him concernynge the thamyse and ward mote enquests lis. iiiid."

Thomas Gibson was the printer whom Latimer unsuccessfully recommended to Cromwell, in connection with the printing of *The Institution of*

a Christian Man, in 1537. The books and papers referred to in the above entry were no doubt those which William Jaggard afterwards collected and printed in 1617 in a duodecimo, of which there is a copy in the British Museum. The title is:—"An Acte for the reformation of divers Abuses used in the Wardmote inquest. Together with the articles of the charge of the sayd Inquest. (An Act of Parliament for the preservation of the River Thames, made in the 27. yeere of . . . King Henry the eight.—An act of common Councell, concerning the conservation & clensing of the river of Thames, made the 28th of September, in the 30. yeere of the reigne of King Henry the 8th. The Oath of the Constables . . . of the Scavengers . . . and of everie Freeman of London.)"

Another matter upon which the Repertories and Journals give useful information is the admission of freemen, and I found the entries of admission of several stationers which I believe up to the present have been unknown. On the 23rd November, 1535, it is recorded that:—"Stephen Kevall borne at Calais within the English pale desyreth to be fre of the stationers." (Repertory 9, f. 140.)

The stationer here referred to was a bookseller. He rose to be one of the masters of the Company, and left a bequest of several houses in the City to the Company at his death.

A page or two further on, in the same volume, under the date of the 27th January, 27 Henry VIII (1536), we read:—"Item, The Queenes most gracyous lettre for the admission of Reyner Wolffe bokeseller, & agreed that the same letter shall be read to the common counsayll."

A month or two later the matter came up again, for on the 7th March (Repertory 9, f. 161), it is recorded:—"With reference to the letters from the Queen concerning Reyner Wolfe, the Court directed that new letters should be obtained directed to the Common Council as well as to the Lord Mayor & Aldermen."

Wolfe lost no time in doing this, for in Journal 13, under date of the 9th March, only two days later, is the entry of his admission, upon

condition that he should take no apprentices but Englishmen, according to the ancient custom of the city. The Queen referred to was, of course, Anne Boleyn, and of Wolfe's standing at Court there is abundant evidence in the State Papers. On several occasions he was employed in carrying the King's letters to foreign Courts.

Another interesting entry records the admission of Andrew Hester, who for many years carried on business at the sign of the White Horse in St. Paul's Churchyard. 11 July, 30 Henry VIII:—"Item. Robert Aylton, because he hath sett over his apprentice one Hester to a foreigner to lerne his crafte, whiche is ageynst the liberties of this citie, agreed that the said Hester shal be fre of the stacyoners. And the said Aylton to agree with master chamberlayn for his admission. And the said Hester to pay to the stacyoners for the good will of their company vjs. viijd. & to pay iijs. iiijd. in hand."

Other stationers whose admissions are met with are, "Richard Lant made free on the 6th Septr, 1537, and paying xliiij shillings for the privilege"; William Mydleton, on the 5th July, 1541 (Repertory 10, f. 213), and Richard Jugge, on the 4th October in the same year. (Repertory 10, f. 224.)

There is also in Repertory 12, f. 200, dated 11th February, 3 Edward VI (1550), an entry which I think must refer to the celebrated printer, John Day:—"Itm. It is agreyd that John Daye who heretofore was admytted into the liberties of this city by redempcion in the felowshyp of the stryngers, (and also all suche apprentices as he now hathe or hereafter shall receyve) shall for certain considerations moving the court be translated & sett over & made free to & of the felowship of the stacyoners, paying a fyne of xxs. to the cities use for the same."

No one has yet discovered the parentage of John Day, and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that his father was a member of the Stringers (*i.e.*, bow string makers) and that upon his coming of age he was admitted to the same company and afterwards transferred to the Stationers.

I know of no other John Day to whom the entry could refer. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, there is still another piece of John Day's biography revealed to us in the pages of these records. In Journal 14 (ff. 219, 220) is a deposition dated 20th August, 32 Henry VIII (*i.e.*, 1540). It runs as follows:—

"Thomas Mannyng, John Borrell and John Day late servants to Thomas Reynoldes printer late dwellyng at Hallywell nere unto London, sworn and examyned sayeth upon their othes, that at Whitsontyde last past or thereaboute, the said Thomas Reynolds had in his house at Hallywell aforesaid these goods hereafter specified as his own proper goods, for they say that the said Reynolds occupyed and used them as his own goodes, for they never knew that eny other person claymed any parte of them, or brought any part of them to the house of the said Reynoldes to keep or otherwise.

"First a long gowne of browne, blewe faced with martens tayles.

"Item, a shorte gowne welted with velvett of newe color, cloth faced with sarcanet.

"Item. ij Jacketts of wursted, blak, one garded with velvett & the other unguarded.

"Item. ij Dobletts of Russett and wursted, color russett, the one sleeved with russett velvett and the other with russett satten.

"Item. A Spanish cloke of frescade [a light material] color black welted with velvett.

"Item. iiij bokes of Vincentius workes.

"It. a greate boke called Arnoldus de villa noua.

"Item. ij herballs one in Latten and the other in Englisshe.

"It. a boke of colloquium erasmi.

"Item. a boke of David's psalter in latten.

"Item. a boke of M. Elyotts Diccionary.

"Item. a boke of Adagia Erasmi in great volume.

"Item. a boke of Marshalls Epigrames.

"It. ij ffygures graven in copper the one the man the other woman with their Intrayles thereto belonging.

"Item. certeyn greate capytall letters graven in copper.

"Item. a paire of doble originalls.

"Item. a lute of venes (Venice) making.

"Item. The fygures of pater-noster graven in copper, conteyning ix peces.

"It. certen other storreys graven in box & peretre (pear tree)."

I think this deposition may rank as the most interesting of my finds. The printer to whom it refers was undoubtedly Thomas Raynald, of whom Ames wrote:—"Dwelt first in St. Andrews parish, in the Waredrop, and in 1549 kept shop at the sign of the star, in St. Paul's Churchyard. It may be queried whether he was not the noted physician who set forth the Womans Book, or Birth of Mankind, so often printed."

The point is one that has never been satisfactorily cleared up, and even quite recently biographers have given Thomas Raynald the printer, and Thomas Raynald who described himself as a physician, as separate persons. But there is one entry in the foregoing inventory which is worth attention. It is that of "the two figures graven in copper the one the man the other the woman with their Intrayles thereto belonging." In the edition of the *Birth of mankynd* printed by Richard Jugge in 1564, a copy of which is in the British Museum, there is a folding plate, with cuts of an anatomical character resembling those mentioned in the inventory. In this edition, however, they are cut on wood and not on copper, but I am given to understand that the British Museum has lately acquired a copy of the 1545 edition with the illustrations on copper, and the first edition, published in 1540, is said to have had engraved illustrations. The further mention of the two Herbals and the works of Arnoldus de Villa Nova, one of the most noted physicians of the day, show that "Thomas Reynoldes printer" dabbled in medicine.

Another interesting point to consider in connection with this is, that there were two distinct editions of the English translation of *De Partu*

Hominis, and that it is only in the second and later issues that Thomas Raynald is described as "physitian."

Ames mentions the first edition as dated 1540, and says of it, "The first translation into English, with many small copper cuts, is dedicated to Queen Catherine, wife to King Henry the 8th, which are the first rolling press cuts I have seen in English books."

A copy of this 1540 edition is in the British Museum, but it wants the folding plate and also all the small cuts. The colophon runs "Imprynted at London by T. R.," but the heading to the dedication reads:—"Unto the most gracious and in all goodnesse most excellent vertuous Lady Quene Katheryne . . . Richard Jonas, wisheth perpetuall joye & felicyte." So that the translation was not made by Raynald, but may very well have been made at his request. The deposition of John Day and his fellow servants is dated the 20th August, 1540, and reference is made to the previous Whitsuntide, which would fall early in May, but whether the book was printed before or after the date of this deposition there is nothing to to tell us. The next edition I have been able to trace is that of 1545, described by Ames, with the name of Thomas Raynald "physition" on the title page, and having the imprint "Imprynted at London by Thos. Ray," which was probably a contraction for Raynald. This was an entirely new issue. R. Jonas, the translator of the first edition, is referred to as a certain learned "clark" who knew but little about medicine, and therefore the present editor, presumably Thomas Raynald, had revised the whole book and added much new information. "Thomas Reynoldes printer" might easily have done this with the aid of the two Herbals and Arnold's works, and there was no law as far as I know to prevent him styling himself "physician," in fact, the practice became very common a few years later, every quack terming himself "physitian and student in astrology."

You will doubtless wonder where Hallywell was, and so did I until Dr. Sharpe kindly informed me that the old manor of Finsbury was known as the manor of Hallywell and Finsbury.

The mention of John Day, supposing it to refer to John Day the printer, is particularly interesting. It has generally been supposed that he learnt the art of printing under Thomas Gibson, as one of that printer's devices was certainly in Day's possession. In this deposition he is described as late servant to Thomas Reynoldes, so that he had left Reynoldes' service before August, 1540. On the other hand, the latest date found in Gibson's books is 1539, and I should be inclined to think that if Day was ever in Gibson's office it was previous to his employment with Reynoldes.

Two other noted printers who are frequently mentioned in these records are Thomas Berthelet and Richard Grafton, but the entries chiefly illustrate the important positions which they held in the City. Thus in one place, Berthelet's name is found in a list of those who were to be present on the occasion of the payment of a large sum of money on the King's behalf to a certain merchant. In another he is nominated by the Common Council as one of the guardians of the poor, while in a third place is a record that a certain John Craythorne of Fleet Street is warned to attend at the next court day to answer a matter opened against him by Thomas Berthelet, but there is no record of the further proceedings, and no clue to the nature of the trouble. Berthelet is also frequently found mentioned as arbitrator in disputes between his brother printers, but the nature of the disputes is never revealed.

A characteristic glimpse of Grafton is obtained in an entry in Repertory 12, in which, as one of the parishioners of Christchurch without Newgate, he protested against the removal of an altar stone, and prevented it. In another entry we find him bound over to keep the peace, in company with John Vandernote, a physician (obviously the author of "A Theatre for Worldlings" in which Spenser's first poems appeared), and a certain John Hilton. Such entries as these were not uncommon. On two occasions Richard Wyer, described in one place as stationer and in the other as "boke prynter," figures in affairs of this kind. In the first he was bound over to keep the peace as regards Guylam Peltere, a Frenchman (Journal 14, f. 235), in the second, he deposed that he was drinking in a tavern called the Three Cups, and was witness to a quarrel between the landlord and a "costard monger" over a game of dice (Journal 15, f. 136).

I am sorry to say that these records failed to throw any further light upon John Rastell's dispute with Walton over the players' garments (see *Transactions*, Vol. IV, pp. 156, 157). There is a vague and unsatisfactory entry in Repertory 12 to this effect:—"Item, for the matter of John Rastell the elder, [it] is committed to Mr. Forman and Mr. Dancy aldermen, and Mr. Chamberlain to make reporte to this courte."

If the report was ever made, it was not entered in the minutes, and it is just possible that Rastell's death saved the Court any further trouble. But in regard to his other dispute, over the Mermaid in Cheapside (see *Bibliographica*, Vol. II, pp. 437–51), it may, perhaps, be remembered that one of those who occupied the premises during Rastell's temporary absences was a Thomas Kele, described as a stationer. He is met with again in these records in company with William Bonham, of St. Paul's Churchyard, and Richard Kele, described as a vintner, in connection with a dispute over some jewels (Repertory 5, ff. 172, 173).

Among the names met with in these books of those who are described as stationers, and of whom we have no previous knowledge, may be mentioned William Wynkyn, made free on the 2nd July, 1534 (Repertory 9, f. 64) *; William Andrewes, made free on the 18th May in the same year, to whom the Lord Mayor gave a present of 26*s.* 8*d.*, "because the said Andrewes can write very well & shall bring up youth virtuously"; William Stodard, freed on the 26th April, 1534; and Robert Tynner, made free on the 28th September, 1535. There is also more than one reference to John Holyland, "stationer." He appears to have had a shop in St. Paul's Churchyard, and was at variance with Reginald Wolfe at one time, both of them being bound over to abide by the award of Thomas Petit and Robert Toye.

Another name met with, incidentally shows that the dispute between the University of Cambridge and the London "stationers" had its birth

* This may have been a son of Wynkyn de Worde. The entry occurs very near to the date of his death, which took place some time between the 5th June, 1534, the date of his will, and the 19th January, 1535, the date of the probate. There is, it is true, no mention of any relatives in de Worde's will, but that is not to say that he left none.

long before the incorporation of the Company. The entry occurs in Repertory 6, and is dated the 6th September, 1519. It runs thus:—"Item. At this court was redde the letter directed to the mayor and aldermen from the University of Cambrigge, concerning divers boks to be bought and sold and seased by one Thomas Cots, stacioner, whereuppon the seyd Thomas had in comandment to bring in such proofs as he hath concerning the premises upon Tuesday next. And afterwards on the 11th day of September yt ys agreed that my lord mayor shall cause to be delivered to the Doctor of Honey Lane all such boks as be specyfied in the letters as he hath from Cambridge."

Before passing away from the Repertories and Journals, I am tempted to add an extract which will I think interest you, although strictly speaking it has nothing to do with the subject of this paper. It occurs in Repertory 12, with the date 26th November, 3 Edward VI [*i.e.*, 1550]:—"Item It is agreed that Mr. Wylforde & Mr. Garrard aldermen shall peruse Mr. Palgrave's book here exhibited this day concerning the teaching of laten & frenche, and make report here how they do like it. And also take order with him for the payment of those £6 13 4 that the Court did here agree this day to lend him."

The book here referred to could hardly have been *L'Eclaircissement*, as that had been published nearly thirty years before, and moreover it dealt with the French language only. Nor is there any other book written by Palgrave now known that deals with the teaching of Latin and French. It was perhaps the manuscript of a work which he contemplated publishing, and it may have been towards this object that the Corporation had advanced him the sum named. At any rate, the incident shows the Corporation in a very favourable light, assisting a deserving and struggling author. Palgrave died in 1554, and one would like to believe that the generosity of the City Council relieved him of pressing necessity.

I have little else to record worth noticing. The deeds enrolled in the Court of Hustings are of very little value, beyond locating the exact spot

upon which any particular printing house stood, and of all the entries which I looked up, only one seemed to me to be worth preserving. In the eleventh year of Elizabeth's reign (1569) Thomas Marsh, the printer, bought some land on the north side of Fleet Street abutting upon Serjeant's Inn, which were parcels of the premises known as the George in Fleet Street, the house no doubt in which both Pynson and his successor Redman worked.

Nor was there much to be found in the records of the Lord Mayor's Court, and the little there was throws no additional light on the history of the men themselves. It was chiefly a court for the recovery of debt, and it was very rarely indeed that any of the stationers came into the court. Perhaps my most interesting discovery was a writ issued in 1574 against Francis Flower, for a debt of twenty pounds, which mentions the names of those to whom he had assigned over his business.

It sometimes happens that inventories of goods seized are attached to these writs, and in one case I came across a schedule containing a list of books, some twenty in number, that were sold for the small sum of ten shillings.

During the last twelve months several interesting discoveries have been made by Mr. E. J. L. Scott and others, which have added materially to our knowledge of the early English printers. Mr. Scott, working amongst the records at Westminster, has discovered not only that Caxton was in possession of the Red Pale, within the Abbey Sanctuary at Michaelmas, 1476, but that Wynkyn de Worde was also inhabiting an adjoining tenement before November, 1480, the house having been taken in the name of his wife Elizabeth. He has also further discovered that Wynkyn's christian name was John.

Then we have also the discovery of a deed at the Record Office which tells us that Frackenburgh the bookseller, for whom Machlinia printed the *Speculum Christiani*, was living in the parish of St. Clements in the year 1482.

To these I have now been able to add the information that Pynson was the official printer to the City of London from the year 1517 down to that of his death; that Reginald Wolfe owed his admission into the freedom of the Stationers' Company to the intercession of Queen Anne Boleyn; and a few minor points of more or less interest concerning other printers.

In conclusion, my warmest thanks are due to this Society for the assistance it rendered me in getting an extension of time for my researches; to the Library Committee of the Corporation for so kindly allowing me access to their valuable records, and finally to Dr. Sharpe for his invariable courtesy and ready help during the time I was working at them

SOME NOTES ON ENGLISH ILLUSTRATED BOOKS.

BY ALFRED W. POLLARD.

Read 19th November, 1900.

THE periods into which the history of book-illustration in England may be divided are very easily defined. The earliest English printed book-illustrations known to us are two little woodcuts in the third edition of the *Parvus et Magnus Cato* (1), printed by Caxton about 1481, the same cuts, with others, appearing also in the *Mirrour of the World*, printed in the same year. For as nearly as possible a century from 1481 the reign of the woodcut was practically undisputed in England. But in 1540, as Mr. Plomer reminded us in last month's paper, the first edition of *The Birth of Mankind* was illustrated by two copperplates of anatomical figures and by some smaller plates of babies as yet unborn. These were reprinted in the edition of 1545, and in the same year Thomas Gemini's *Compendiosa Anatomiae Delineatio* was illustrated not only with anatomical plates, but with a finely designed engraved frontispiece. Gemini's book was reprinted in 1553 and 1559. In 1568 we find engravings in the Bishop's Bible, and in the seventies and eighties there are a few books with engravings. After 1590 engraved illustrations increase rapidly, and for the first sixty years of the seventeenth century they were very popular, often possessing real artistic merit, and quite ousting woodcuts from favour.

After the Restoration, the attention of the best English engravers was called off to mezzotint, which is very ill-suited to book-work, and for the next

one hundred and twenty years there are few illustrated books properly so-called. That is to say, there are plenty of county histories and books of antiquities with large plates, and some volumes of engravings—furniture books or reproductions of pictures—with a minimum of letterpress. But illustrated editions of popular works of poetry or fiction are comparatively few, and the best of these few were illustrated by French or Dutch artists.

1. From Caxton's *Parvus et Magnus Cato.* 3rd. ed.

From 1780 onwards, on the other hand, illustrated books abound, some with engravings on copper, but to an increasing degree the results of the revival of wood-engraving brought about by Bewick and his scholars. Other methods of illustration were also used, such as line and stipple engravings on steel, etchings, and lithographs. A little before 1860, wood-engraved illustrations received a new impetus from the rise of the school of artist illustrators, of whose work we have lately heard so much. In our own generation the Process-Block has driven almost every other form of illustration out of the

field by its cheapness and the quickness with which it can be made. We may not like all or any of the various kinds of photographic processes, but they have clearly come to stay, and we can only hope that artists will design with reference to their limitations, and readers make up their minds that with process illustrations which can only be printed on vile paper they will have nothing to do.

It is always pleasant to look ahead and see whither a road is leading, and this attempt at a rough survey of the whole history of book-illustration in England may possibly entice some members of the Society to take up sections of the road on which as yet little work has been done. It need hardly be said that such sections abound, and for a very obvious reason. In all the black and white arts, with the exception of wood engraving, book-work occupies a very inferior position, and it is only when the history of these arts in their larger aspects has been satisfactorily written that we can expect students, unless they start from our own bookish standpoint, to concern themselves with the engravings, or etchings, or lithographs which appear in books. Even for book-illustrations on wood much less has been done than might reasonably have been expected. Bewick and his followers have been satisfactorily handled by Mr. Austin Dobson, and they occupy a very large share of attention in Mr. Linton's splendid *History of Wood-Engraving*. Much material for carrying forward this section for another generation is believed to exist in the archives of the Chiswick Press, and a bibliography of the illustrated books issued by the two Whittinghams would certainly make a very pretty and interesting volume. But for the period before Bewick, hardly anything has been done. The notes with which the rest of this paper will be occupied are mainly intended to show with what unusual difficulties the subject is beset.

To make these notes intelligible, rather than with any view of selecting characteristic specimens of English work, a few illustrations are here reproduced from books of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The first of these illustrations is taken from a Roxburghe Ballad printed for Richard Harper, a publisher whose dated books belong

to the years 1637–39. The ballad is entitled "Doctor Do-Good's directions to cure many diseases both in body and minde, lately written and set forth for the good of infected persons. To the tune of the Golden Age." The first part of this ballad is illustrated by the double cut shown in our reproductions (2), the left-hand section of it being apparently of

2. From *Dr. Do-Good's Directions*. c. 1638.

about the date of the ballad, while the right-hand possesses the very respectable antiquity of 145 years, having first appeared in Vérard's *Art de Bien Vivre et de Bien Mourir*, in 1492. It was subsequently used in 1503, in Vérard's *Kalendar of Schyppars*, and then passed into the possession of Pynson, who used it in 1506 in his new translation of the same work. By

1503 the block was already the worse for wear, but that it is the same block, and not, as might have been expected, a copy, seems absolutely certain. The original illustration, it should be said, represents Aaron and the Israelites going out to meet Moses, who bears the Tables of the Law. If, instead of Moses, they had met two Elizabethan gentlemen, they would certainly have been surprised. But this is what the balladmonger has been pleased to arrange.

Now this is, of course, an extreme instance, and an easily recognisable one of the survival of a block; but this re-appearing of old cuts in unlikely places, and the borrowing or copying of foreign work are so common in the early history of book-illustration in England, that one becomes afraid to make a statement about any cut without a certificate of its origin. In the second part of this same ballad is another cut of four ladies and a king, probably old, probably foreign, but not yet identified. In three other ballads, printed for Harper, there are similar cuts, while in his *The Jovial Broome Man, or A Kent-Street Souldiers exact relation of all his travels in every Nation*, a cut of a Knight and Squire, though probably English, from the appearance in it of Tudor Roses, certainly dates back a great many years. F. Coules, H. Gosson, and John Wright the younger are three other publishers of this period who are found in possession of several old blocks. Most of these give a clear hint as to their origin, and their broken condition, or the fact of their obviously being copies of finer cuts, prevents their giving any real trouble; but this is not always the case. Our next illustration (3), even as reproduced, can be seen to be an almost unused, quite perfect cut. It appears in two ballads, one entitled *London's Ordinarie or every man in his humour*, the other *Of the Passion of Christ*, printed for the assigns of T. Symcocke. Needless to say, it has no connection with either ballad, and from its style and the dresses, it appears to be an English cut of about 1570. What its subject is, is not easy to guess, and any information about it will be heartily welcome. So good a cut in so pretty a little border is not lightly to be left unidentified.

The Roxburghe ballads are, of course, an unusually good hunting-ground for old cuts, but these trouble us wherever we turn. Thus in the

Strange and wonderful tidings happened to Richard Hasleton, borne at Braintree in Essex, in his ten yeares trauailes in many forraine countries, a passage in which Hasleton is described as flying from his enemies is

3. From *Love's Ordinarie.* c. 1630.

illustrated by a cut of a gentleman lying under a tree. No doubt, even a fugitive must rest sometimes, but the picture is a little puzzling, till it is recognized as a copy of one of the cuts in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*,

printed by Aldus at Venice, in 1499. In 1592, Simon Waterson had printed a translation of part of this, with the pretty and explanatory subtitle, *The Strife of Love in a Dream*. Hasleton's adventures were published by William Barber only three years later, and Waterson had clearly sold him the cut. But incidents of this kind are confusing.

Take another instance. In that excellent piece of work, the *Contributions towards a Bibliography of English Literature*, printed by the Grolier Club of New York, an illustration is given of the titlepage of the 1553 edition, printed by William Copland, of *xii books of Eneados* by Bishop Douglas. The title-page is surrounded by a kind of garland, supported by two fat little boys, and the Grolier Club editors rather rashly describe this as Copland's device. But it is found the year before this in a copy of the *Christiani Hominis Institutio* by Stephanus Paris, printed for Vivantius Gaulterot, and it is, in fact, a fairly good copy of the decoration of the last page of the *Champfleury*, written and printed by Geoffroy Tory in 1529, of which Gaulterot published a second edition. But while this is the true history of what has been called Copland's device, it may be noted in passing that several designs really used by English printers as devices illustrate the lack of originality which is the cause of so much trouble in the history of English book-work. Thus the earliest device used by Pynson seems to be adapted from that of Le Talleur, that of Richard Faques is an altered copy of Thielmann Kerver's, the "wild men" of Peter Treveris are taken from those of Pigouchet, and John Byddell's figure of Virtue (a very ungainly and not too decent lady) is copied from a device used by Jacques Sacon, a Lyons printer of the beginning of the century. The list might easily be lengthened, and though printers borrowed each others' devices in other countries, the imitativeness of English firms is certainly exceptional.

As another instance of a pitfall may be taken one into which the present writer gently slid in annotating the English section of *Three Hundred Notable Books*. On page 25 of that pleasant catalogue there is a facsimile of the titlepage of Richard Bonner's *Treatyse of the Sacrament*, printed for Walter Lynne in 1548. In the note to the facsimile

4. From Wynkyn de Worde's edition of *Hyckscorner*.

it was remarked, "the title is surrounded by an unusually well-cut border," a perfectly true observation, but one which the writer would have expressed differently had he remembered that in the same year Lynne had used this border for Cranmer's *Catechism*, a book which contains two cuts bearing the name Hans Holbein, and a number of others which have been assigned

5. From Vérard's *Therence en franceys.*

to Bernard Salomon. The ascription is probably incorrect, and if time allows we must return to this book later on. But the occurrence of our "unusually well-cut border" by itself, as in Bonner's book, and its occurrence in connection with a number of cuts of hotly disputed origin as in Cranmer's, are two very different things.

The last instance which we need take of the confusion caused by mistaking copies of foreign cuts for original English work is one which should be already well known, and which the present writer has certainly done his best to dispel, though—judging by the experiences of the past few months—with very ill success. To begin with, our fellow member, Mr. Horace Hart, turned up one day at the British Museum with a deeply cut wood-block of the set of figures which form our third illustration, and wanted to know what they were. The block looked any age, and was at first guessed to have been made by Bagford for his history of printing, but was eventually run down to Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, printed at Oxford in 1773. Hawkins had reprinted that very dull play, *Hickscorner*, and had energetically reproduced these little cuts from the back of the titlepage of Wynkyn de Worde's undated edition, probably issued about 1525. On the top of Mr. Hart's visit came a letter from a learned Belgian enquiring as to how these wretched figures could be reproduced so as to shed their true light on the history of the drama, and to crown all a Professor of the English Language and Literature in the Nevada State University, in a book lately published at Halle, and written under the auspices of another learned Professor at Göttingen, quotes these same figures in *Hyckescorner*, and some still worse ones in *Jack Juggler*, as "a reliable source of information" as to the costume of the "Vice" in English morality-plays, and holds your Honorary Secretary up to scorn for having overlooked it. It is evident that these cuts have to be taken seriously, so here they are, faithfully reproduced from *Hyckscorner* (4), and opposite to them (5) the originals of two out of the six as they appear in Vérard's French edition of Terence, published at Paris about 1500. You will note that *Davus* has been turned into *Contemplation* without any great change save coarser cutting, and *Pity* and the gallant soldier, who, according to the Professor, is in the attire most appropriate for *Perseverance*, have been conveyed equally cleanly, though the rubbed condition of the page in the Museum copy has made them come out rather badly. *Hyckescorner* himself, on the other hand, is clumsily re-drawn from Pamphilus, and therefore comes out in reverse. As

Prologus

Sypman was there that wonedy fer he weste
For oughte I wot he was of dertemouthe
He wody vp a rouncy as he couth
In a gowne foldynge to the kne
A daggar on a lace hangynge hady he
Aboute hys necke vnder hys arm adoun

6. From the *Canterbury Tales.* (Second Edition.) Caxton. c. 1484.

to the *Jack Juggler* cuts, Mayster Boungrace is another copy in reverse of Pamphilus, probably taken from an intermediate English copy of the same kind as Contemplation, Pity, and Perseverance. Dame Coy is a similar copy at second hand of one of Vérard's women, and though *Jack Juggler* himself is so wretchedly cut as to be unrecognisable, we may be quite sure that he has a like origin. It is obvious, therefore, that we must not go to contemporary editions as "a reliable source of information" as to theatrical costumes. Inventories such as Mr. Plomer discovered in the record of John Rastell's lawsuit are a much more trustworthy authority.

So much by way of drawing attention to some of the difficulties arising from the importation or imitation of foreign work, with which the study of English woodcuts is beset. The only way out of them seems to be to form as clear an idea as we can of what English workmen were capable of, by studying, in the first instance, cuts of which the English origin is certain, and secondly, by comparing English versions of foreign cuts as a means of estimating technical skill as apart from design. Now the most conspicuous English book in the fifteenth century, the pictures in which are undoubtedly English, is the second edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, printed by Caxton about 1484. They are, probably, familiar to many members of this Society, and one of the best of them is here reproduced (6). They have no artistic merit of any kind, though there are some glimpses of attempts at character, and they are clearly marked out by the clumsiness of the horses, that here shown, which serves for the Squire, Shipman and Canon's Yeoman being one of the best. If we turn from the *Canterbury Tales* to the cuts in the second edition of the *Game and Pley of the Chesse*, and look at the Rook's horse (7), there is certainly a strong family likeness, and thus it seems probable that this book also was illustrated in England. That both sets of cuts were produced by a Low Country workman in Caxton's office is possible enough, but if so, he had clearly had no technical training abroad, and must be reckoned for our purposes as an Englishman. Again, if we take Caxton's *Aesop*, we shall find the foreign models handled in the most homely and unpretentious way—not always ludicrously bad, but without any pretension to

The fyfthe chappytre of the second book of the forme
and maners of the Rookes capitulo quinto

The rookes whiche been vycayrs and legates of the
kynge ought to be maad a knyght vpon an hors &
a mantel and hood furrid with meneuier holdyng a staf in
his hand / & for as moche as a kyng may not be in al pla

7. From *The Game and Pley of the Chesse.* (Second Edition.) Caxton. c. 1482.

artistic skill. There are no books of whose origin we can be certain which conflict with this evidence, and therefore, when we find a single set of cuts, with nothing else like them in England, but with a general resemblance to some foreign school of design, we must clearly rule these out of our account. For instance, notwithstanding the fact that on its first appearance in England, it is perfectly new and fresh, this splendidly vigorous cut (8) of the Three Cavaliers meeting the Three Figures of Death is obviously not English. We have not the slightest encouragement to believe that any Englishman of the time could have drawn such horses. The cut belongs to a set of *Horae* cuts which Caxton must have commissioned in the Low Countries, though he himself, as far as we know, only used one design (that of the Crucifixion, in the *Fifteen Oes*), and this and others appear first in a *Horae* printed by Wynkyn.

In the same way this portrait of an author from the Oxford edition of Lyndewood's *Constitutions* (9) is quite distinct in style from any other work we can find in England. It belongs, as Mr. Duff has shown, to a set of cuts, presumably of Flemish origin, which the Oxford printers must have commissioned for an edition of the *Golden Legend* which they never brought out.

Our next picture (10), again, from Pynson's 1494 edition of Lydgate's version of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum*, is distinctly French in character, and within the last three days has been identified as borrowed from a fine French edition printed by Jean du Pré in Paris in 1483. If we wish for the melancholy revelations of what an English workman could make of these cuts, we have only to look at Pynson's later edition of 1527, where some of them are translated into ludicrous badness, while others are in a much heavier style, but firmly handled and not without merit. It is such striking differences as these which encourage the mere amateur to stand up against Linton's ridicule of Sir W. M. Conway's classification of cuts according to schools of woodcutters. If the art of the woodcutter was as mechanical as Mr. Linton maintains, how is it that the mere copying of a design, which could be pasted down on the wood, often presented such

8. From a *Horæ* printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

insuperable difficulties? As a fact, the woodcutter's handling of his knife seems to have been even more important for the fate of an illustration than the designer's handling of his pencil.

9. From the Oxford edition of Lyndewood's Constitutions.

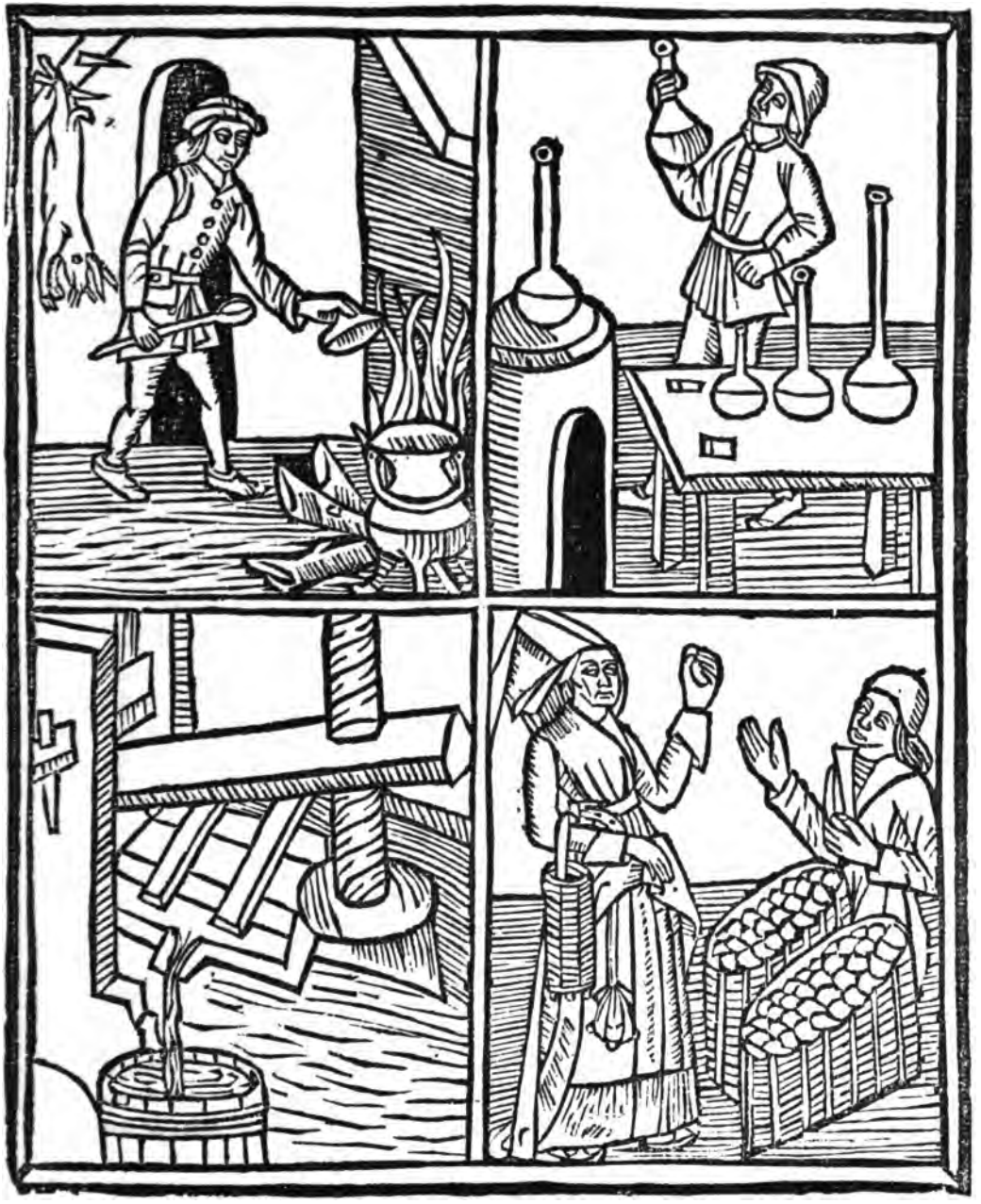
Our next picture is from Wynkyn's fine edition of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. Like *Books of Hours*, or the *Golden Legend*, or the *De Casibus* of Boccaccio, the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was a book for illustrating which an English printer might easily find models on the Continent.

10. From Lydgate's *Falle of Princes*. Pynson, 1494.

Wynkyn's pictures are based partly on those of a Dutch version of the *De Proprietatibus* printed at Haarlem in 1485, partly on an earlier set, not yet identified, which were imitated at Lyons for a French edition printed in 1482. It is possible, of course, that the combination of these two sources was due not to Wynkyn, but to some foreign printer whose blocks he bought, and two of the woodcuts are so good as to justify some doubt. But that here shown, and most of the others, seem fairly within the imitative powers of our English workmen.

The three next pictures are all examples of the humbler sort of English work of the early years of the sixteenth century. That of the Coronation of Henry and Katherine, from Hawes's *Joyfull Medytacyon* (12) we may be absolutely sure of by reason of the Tudor Rose and the Queen's Pomegranate. *The Traduction and Mariage of the Princesse* (13) is less certain, because it lacks such a distinctive mark; the *Boke of Kervyng* (14) less certain still; but still all three are obviously new cuts, and unless we have positive evidence to link them to larger sets which got diverted from their original destination, unused cuts may tentatively be claimed as English. If a large number of such cuts could be brought together we should certainly be nearer a clear idea of what were the capabilities of the workmen resident in England.

This point as to workmen resident in England, who may not necessarily have been Englishmen, is distinctly one of our troubles. I reproduce here, with a lavishness which may provoke remarks as to what happens when the Society's Secretary is allowed to read a paper, two very interesting woodcuts (15, 16) from a book printed, without title of any kind, by Pynson, in or about 1509. It is by Petrus Carmelianus, and gives in Latin a description of the reception of the Ambassadors of the Emperor Maximilian, who came to England in 1508 to arrange a marriage between Charles, Prince of Castile, afterwards the Emperor Charles V, and the Princess Mary. The book is so rare, and the woodcuts, to my thinking, so good, that I hope the extravagance may be pardoned. But are they English work? By all our canons they should be, for they are obviously made specially for the book. But I have



11. From Trevisa's translation of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. Wynkyn de Worde. c. 1495.

never found any other English woodcuts like them; in their richness of effect they remind me of Spanish work, and there is the sad possibility to be reckoned with that Carmelianus, who would naturally make the acquaintance of the Ambassadors and their suite, found some Spaniard among them who drew and cut these charming pictures. When we come to the better English books of the middle of the sixteenth century, the same problem faces us, though in not quite so fugitive a form. The workmen who could cut the devices of Berthelet or of Raynold Wolfe (17) were skilful enough to cut anything. Thus we may almost take it for granted that the Holbein cuts in Cranmer's *Catechism* were made over here, and the very prominence of the name (the cut is shown here (18) from an old block made for the Society for Mr. Gray's paper on Pickering), separates it altogether from an artist's signature. It is much more as if the woodcutter were proud of getting hold of two bits of Holbein's work, and cut his name on them, misspelling it in the other instance by the omission of the "i." If so, it is at least possible that the other and much daintier cuts in the book were cut in England also, and in any case it seems rash to attribute them to Bernard Salomon. But whether the cutters were Englishmen, or only resident in England, who can say? When we reach what must be regarded as the flowering time of English book-illustration in the books of John Day and his fellows, the question of English and foreign workmen becomes still more acute. Mr. Duff boldly speaks of John Day as himself a wood-engraver, and certainly the initials I. D. are found on the splendid woodcut portrait of Day himself (19), and on his large device (20), and on some of his large initial letters. But we must remember that on Day's bindings are found the letters I. D. P. (interpreted as *Iohn Day printer*, or perhaps better as *Iohannes Day pegit*), and we can hardly imagine that he was not only a working printer, but a working woodcutter and a working bookbinder as well.

But if we must give up Day himself, despite the rumours of foreign binders in England, and the undoubted presence of foreign engravers on copper, we may yet cling to the faith in the English origin of most of the

¶ A Joyfull medytacyon to all Englonde of the coronacyon of our moost naturall soue rayne lorde kynge Henry the eyght.

The prologue

THe prudent problems & the noble werkes
Of the gentyll poetes in olde antyquyte
Unto this day hath made famous clerkes
For the poetes wrote nothynge in vanyte
But grounded them on good moralyte
Encensynge out the fayre dulcet fume
Our langage rude to eyle and consume

The ryght eloquent poete and monke of bery
Made many fayre bookes/as it is probable
From ydle derkenes/to lyght our emyspery
Whose vertuous pastyme/was moche cõmendable
Presentynge his bookes/gretely prouffytable

12. From Hawes's *Joyfull Medytacyon.* Wynkyn de Worde. [1509.]

woodcuts of this period. They belong to no distinct foreign school, and many of them have an English look which is almost irresistible. If we can bring under this plea the woodcut of William Cunningham, from the edition of his *Cosmographical Glasse* printed by Day in 1559, we have a

13. From *The Traduction & Mariage of the Princesse* (Kateryne). Pynson. [1501.]

second English portrait as fine as that of Day himself. Our next illustration is from Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, printed by Day in 1566. The last two are from the 1577 edition of Holinshed, where one does duty for several street riots, the other for the executions which were their natural result. None of these is in the grand style, but they are effective from their very homeliness, and so English in feeling that only perversity could dispute their origin.

BOSTON MEDICAL
LIBRARY

After 1580, woodcut illustrations rapidly lost favour in England and elsewhere, amid the rising popularity of engravings on copper. In Day's time we may well be content with them. For the previous three-quarters of a century there is little room for boasting, and yet the very difficulty of

14. From *The Boke of Kervyng.* Wynkyn de Worde. 1508.

separating out English from foreign work makes the study of our early illustrated books so interesting that it is strange it has attracted but little attention.

15. From *Petri Carmeliani Carmen.* Pynson. [1509.]

16. From *Petri Carmeliani Carmen.* Pynson. [1509.]

CHARI TAS

17. Device of Raynold Wolfe.

The. xv. fearfull tokens
preceding I ſay,
The generall iudgement,
called Domes day.

Watch and pray, for ye man
knoweth the houer.

Imprinted at London, by
William Howe: for William
Pickeryng.

18. The woodcut originally from Cranmer's *Catechism*.

19. Portrait of John Day.

20. Device of John Day.

21. Portrait of William Cunningham, from his *Cosmographical Glasse*. John Day, 1559.

22. From Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. John Day, 1566.

23. From Holinshed's *Chronicles*. For J. Harrison. 1577.

24. From Holinshed's *Chronicles*. For J. Harrison. 1577.

ON THE

"HERBARIUS" AND "HORTUS SANITATIS."

By JOSEPH FRANK PAYNE, M.D. Oxon, F.R.C.P.

(Harveian Librarian to the Royal College of Physicians.)

Read 21 January, 1901.

THE object of this paper is to describe the earliest printed books in European literature devoted to the illustration of Natural History; to fix the date and order of the several works known by the names of *Herbarius* and *Hortus Sanitatis;* to show their connection with one another, and with some other works of the same class.

The materials for this essay have been mainly derived from actual inspection of the books themselves; but as some of the editions are inaccessible in this country, I have had to refer to standard bibliographical works such as those of Hain, Pritzel *(Thesaurus Literaturæ Botanicæ)*, Proctor, and others. A special acknowledgment is due to the valuable work of Dr. Ludwig Choulant, entitled: *Graphische Incunabeln für Naturgeschichte und Medecin. Geschichte und Bibliographie der ersten naturhistorichen und medicinischen Drucke des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts, welche mit illustrirenden Abbildungen versehen sind.* Leipzig, Weigel, 1858. (Reprint from Naumann's *Archiv für die Zeichnenden Künste, Jahrgang III.*) This learned and most accurate writer was a physician, a botanist, and a

bibliographer. His work is the only one which gives a full account of the history and bibliography of the works in question, of which he first established the true order and relations; and as regards the books which he had himself seen, his descriptions are absolutely trustworthy. To this work the present memoir is largely indebted.

The books of which I am about to speak originated, and were nearly all printed, in Germany, the editions printed in other countries being copied from productions of the German presses.

There was, however, one small book with botanical figures, printed in Italy, which has no connection with the German *Herbals*, but which it may be desirable to speak of first, as its history may perhaps throw some light upon that of the German books. I refer to the *Herbarium* of Apuleius Platonicus, printed at Rome, probably soon after 1480, by Philippus de Lignamine. It is a small quarto beginning with a dedication, in some copies to Cardinal F. (or D. F.) de Gonzaga, in others to Cardinal Juliano de Ruvere. This, with a Table of Chapters, occupies four leaves (in my copy; perhaps there should be six). On the next leaf is the title, in this form:—"Incipit || Herbarium || Apuleii Plato||nici ad Mar||cum Agrip||pam"; these words being surrounded by a garland of classical design. Then follow 131 chapters each with a figure of a herb; occupying 101 leaves, ending with a register of the quires and a blank leaf. In all 107 (? or 108) leaves (*see* Hain,* 1322). It has no date or imprint properly so called.

The editor and printer, Joh. Philippus de Lignamine, was physician to Pope Sixtus IV. He found this book, he says, in manuscript, in the library of Monte Cassino, and thought it worth printing, with figures evidently copied from those of the original MS. As to its date, Mr. Proctor refers the book to the second press of Joh. Philippus de Lignamine, of which

* Choulant's other bibliographical works, viz.: his *Geschichte und Bibliographie der anatomischen Abbildung*, 1852; *Handbuch der Bücherkunde fur die ältere Medicin* (2nd ed., 1841); and *Bibliotheca Medico-historica*, 1842, are still the standard works in their respective subjects, but do not aim at the minute detail of the *Graphische Incunabeln*.

[HERBA PLANTAGO.]

1. From *Herbarium Apulei Platonici.* Figure of Common Plantain, with a Scorpion and a Snake.

dated examples were printed about 1482 and later. The dedication to Cardinal de Gonzaga may perhaps throw some light upon the point. There were several Cardinals of the Gonzaga family; this particular one is said to have died in 1483†; though I do not vouch for the date. If so, the book must have been printed before 1484, which is the date assigned by Hain, and would be a little earlier than the first German work with figures of plants, dated 1484, of which I speak later. Possibly de Lignamine, after Cardinal Gonzaga's death, dedicated the remainder of the impression, or a new imprint, to Cardinal de Ruvere, for in my own copy as in that in the British Museum, both of which have the Ruvere dedication, the printing of the preliminary matter is very confused.

The text of this work, without figures, was reprinted by Wechel at Paris, folio, 1528; in the Aldine collection of Latin medical writers, 1547, and several times elsewhere.

The name Apuleius Platonicus is possibly fictitious. Nothing is known of the writer (who must not be confounded with Apuleius Madaurensis, author of the *Golden Ass*), but the composition is believed by some to go back to the fourth or fifth century, though it may be much later. The earliest known MS. appears to be of the ninth century.

The chief interest of the book lies, however, in its figures. There are numerous Latin MSS. of the work, chiefly in Italian libraries, but two in the British Museum. It exists, translated into Anglo-Saxon, in the splendid Cottonian MS. of the Museum, printed by Mr. Cockayne in his *Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms*. All these MSS. so far as I know (and I have examined several in the Laurentian Library at Florence, as well as in the British Museum) contain the same series of coloured figures, which were the originals of de Lignamine's rude cuts. Now the Anglo-Saxon MS. is of the eleventh century, and must have been translated from a still older Latin codex, so that the original figures go very far back. There

† Choulant, *Bücherkunde fur die ältere Medicin.* 2nd ed, 1841, p. 213.

HERBA ORBICVLARIS. I. RAPVRA.

2. From *Herbarium Apuleii Platonici.*

are similar, though not identical, figures in old Latin MSS. of a treatise, *De Herba Vetonica*, attributed to Antonius Musa, in others bearing the name (evidently fictitious) of Dioscorides, and similar works in late Latin literature.

These figures again have a general resemblance in style to, though no identity with, those of the celebrated MS. of Dioscorides at Vienna (5th century), a few specimens of which have been printed.† Some interesting figures of this class, from early MSS., have been lately published in the fine work of Sig. Piero Giacosa, *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi*, Torino, 1901.

All these constitute a school of botanical illustration coming down certainly from late Roman art; but to which it would be dangerous to assign even an approximate date.

The characteristics of this school are:—

1.—The figures of plants are formal, generally drawn with complete bilateral symmetry. Thus they occupy square or oblong spaces, and have a decorative rather than naturalistic effect.

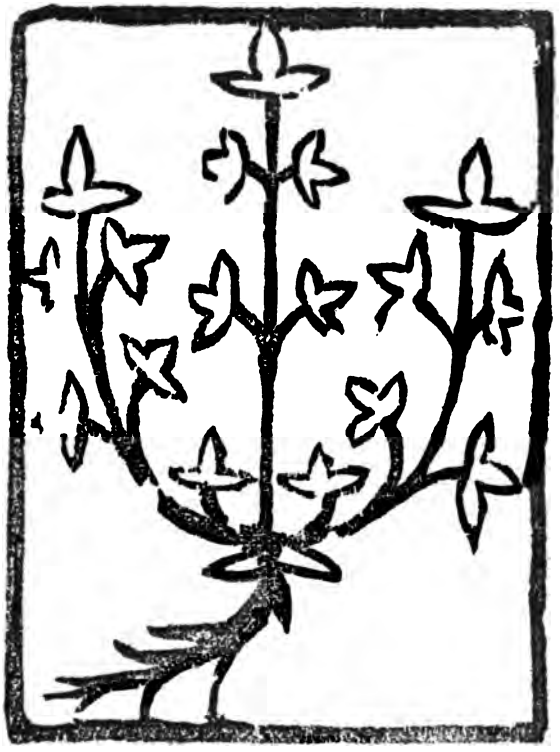
2.—They have the appearance of not being taken directly from nature, but rather of being diagrams, drawn by an artist who generalized his knowledge of the object.

3.—Serpents and other animals, and in the grander MSS. human figures, are sometimes introduced, being often drawn with much grace and vigour, though not naturalistic. Most of these figures are of the venomous animals against whose bites or stings the herbs were useful.

4.—Comparing different series of figures, we see that one was copied from another, and degraded in the process. The original figure became quite traditional, copied by a succession of artists ignorant of the original, till it lost all likeness, and became in some cases absolutely false. Mr. Cockayne thus explains an extraordinary figure

† See Daubeny's *Lectures on Roman Husbandry*. 1857, p. 231.

NOMEN HERBAE OLYXATRVM:

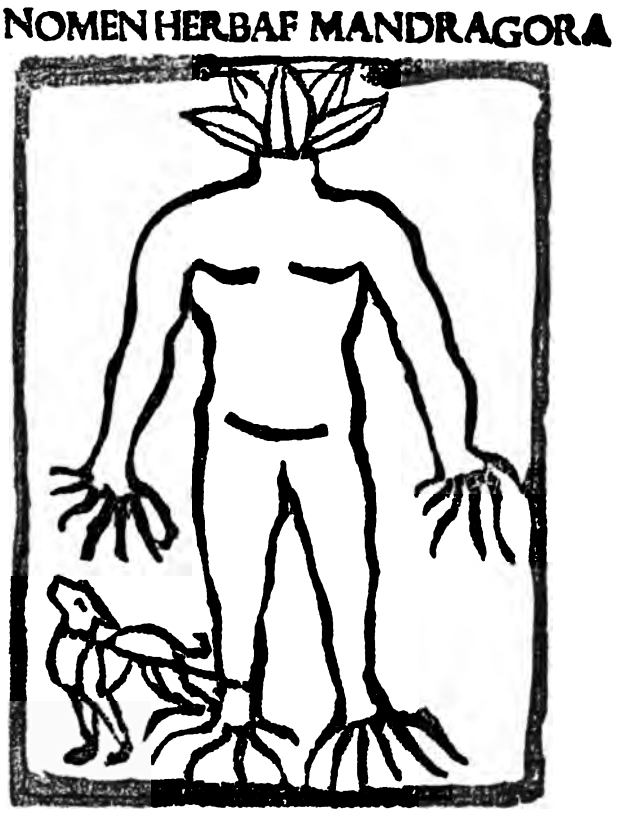


3. From *Herbarium Apulsii Platonici.*

(in the frontispiece to *Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms*) of Saxifraga granulosa, a plant with bulbous appendages on its roots. Originally, the roots with their bulbs were represented as under a piece of earth to show that they were underground. An ignorant copyist, not understanding this, inverted the picture, and drew the plant as if its roots were growing into the air, with their bulbs like fruits. In the printed Roman *Herbarium*, the transformation is carried further still, the original bulbs having become little round flowers like daisies.

This school of plant-illustration may be called the school of classical tradition, or shortly, the classical school. Originally, no doubt, it displayed some of the grace of Greco-Roman art; but on the most favourable view it would show that the classical artists had a notion very different from ours, of how natural history objects ought to be represented. They would have produced a graceful and harmonious, but formal picture, founded on general knowledge rather than on the "impression" of the moment, though doubtless recognizable. Such figures, passing through the hands of a hundred copyists, became more and more conventional, till they reached their last and most degraded form in the rude cuts of the Roman *Herbarium*, which represent not the infancy, but the old age of art. Uncouth as they are, we may regard them with some respect, both as being the images of flowers that bloomed many centuries ago, and also as the last ripple of the receding tide of Classical Art.

Of the execution of the cuts it is not necessary to say anything, except that Weigel, an eminent expert, regarded them not as woodcuts, but as rough cuts in metal, excavated in the manner of a wood block. On this point I express no opinion. I have dwelt on the origin and artistic character of these figures because they have a special bearing upon the early German *Herbals*, of which I shall have to speak.



4. Figure of the Mandrake and a dog. From *Herbarium Apulei Platonici.*

THE GERMAN HERBALS.

I.—*Herbarius;* also called *Herbarius in Latino, Aggregator de Simplicibus, Herbarius Moguntinus, Herbarius Patavinus, etc.*

This is the first work printed in Germany with woodcuts of plants. The edition of Mainz, 1484, was certainly the first printed in Germany. The question of its priority to an edition printed in the Low Countries will be afterwards discussed.

It is a small quarto, having on the first leaf, recto, the title in three lines, thus :—*Herbarius, Ma‖guntie impressus ‖ Anno* ꝛc LXXX iv. Below this the well-known double red shield of Schöffer hanging on a branch. On leaf 2 recto, begins the preface, of which I quote the first lines, as they identify the book in many editions.

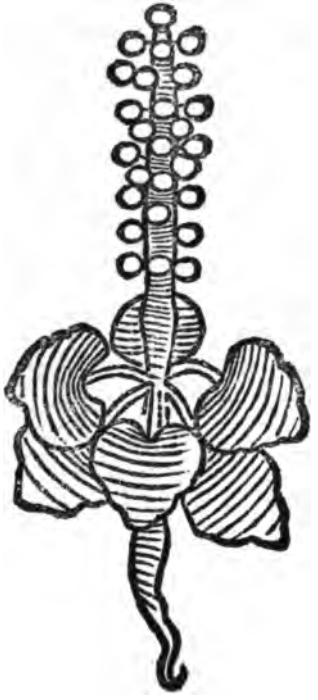
"*(R)ogatu plurimorum inopum nummorum ‖ egentium appotecas refutantium oc‖casioni illa quod necessaria ibidem ad corpus egrum spectantia sunt cara simplicia et composita, nummisque plurimis comparanda.*" The author goes on to quote Arnold de nova Villa and Avicenna as to the merits of simple medicines; and after a few lines occur the following words :—*Ob id presens opusculum suam sumpsit denominationem Aggregator practicus de simplicibus.*

The work is therefore sometimes spoken of as *Aggregator*, but I cannot find that this word was ever used as the actual title in any edition.

The author divides his work into seven parts :—

1.—De virtutibus herbarum.
2.—De simplicibus laxativis et lenitivis.
3.—De simplicibus comfortativis.
4.—De fructibus et seminibus et radicibus.
5.—De gummis et eis similibus.
6.—De generibus salis et mineris et lapidibus.
7.—De animalibus et provenientibus ab eis.

† This edition is Hain, 8,444; Pritzel, 11,867; Choulant No. 1.



5. Aaron = Arum maculatum, representing the plant in fruit, with red berries. *Herbarius Moguntiæ impressus.* 1484.

Leaf 3a begins an index, *Capitula herbarum*, on two leaves.

Leaf 5a begins the series of herbs arranged alphabetically, occupying 150 chapters on 150 leaves, each with a number above a woodcut on the recto., ending leaf 154a.

Leaf 155a begins the remaining six parts of the book without figures, occupying 20 leaves.

Leaf 156 blank. Ends leaf 174b.

Quarto, 174 leaves of 32 lines. Gothic letter. No signatures or numbers. The initials left blank.

This edition must be rare. There is no perfect copy in the British Museum. The only one that I have seen is in the Library of the Royal Gardens, Kew.

This work was thus intended to treat of cheap and homely remedies for the use of the poor, such as could be found in the woods and meadows; and by far the greater part is taken up with herbs. These are all native German or garden plants, and have thus a German as well as a Latin name (the only possible exception is No. 130, Scicados arabicum, which is simply called "Von Arabien," there being apparently no German name). No exotic plants are described; but in the latter part of the work, foreign drugs, such as Aloes, Manna, Rhubarb, Myrrh, etc., are mentioned without being described.

The book was very popular, and there were numerous editions, of which I will speak later.

In the meantime, two questions arise about this work:—

(1) Its authorship. (2) The origin of the figures.

1.—The work is, of course, anonymous. It is a compilation from mediæval writers, with some classical and Arabian authors, the latter doubtless quoted from translations.

6. Acorus = Iris. *Herbarius Moguntiæ impressus.* 1484.

The chief authorities are:

Pandectarius, *i.e.*, "*Pandectæ medicæ*" of Matthæus Sylvaticus (died 1342). Printed 1480.
Serapion (the younger). End of 11th century. Printed 1473.
Platearius (*circa Instans*). 12th century. Printed 16th century.
Mesua (the younger). 10th or 11th century. Printed 1471.
Albertus Magnus (once only?). 13th century.
Macer Floridus (once). 10th or 11th century. Printed 1477.
Nicolaus Prepositus. 12th century. Printed 1471.
Bartholomeus Anglicus, or Glanville. 13th century. Printed 1480.
Arabians: Avicenna and Averroes.
Classics:—Dioscorides and Galen (not frequently). Pliny and Aristotle (in later chapters).

It will be seen that the writers quoted mostly wrote before 1300, and one only, namely, Matthæus Sylvaticus, belongs to the fourteenth century. There is, therefore, no author quoted who might not have been known to a writer about the middle of the fourteenth century, or say one hundred years before the *Herbarius* was published. It is noticeable that none of the late Latin writers on herbs, Apuleius Platonicus, Antonius Musa, etc., are ever quoted.

It seems, therefore, that the book itself supplies no evidence that it was written at the time it was printed, or with a view to publication. It might have been written a hundred years before; and it seems quite possible that the printer, Peter Schöffer, might have found an old MS. in some library, which, like de Lignamine with the MS. from Monte Cassino, he first committed to the press. It is also quite clear that the work was of German origin.

Choulant has observed that the later portion of the work (that without figures) need not be by the same writer as the descriptions of herbs; and it seems to me probable that the two parts were not by the same author.

The figures of plants in *Herbarius* have certain notable peculiarities. Many of them show the same stiff drawing and artificial symmetry which

xxxj

7. Brionia. *Herbarius Moguntiæ impressus.* 1484.

we have observed in the figures of Apuleius. Even those which have not this character, seem rather like diagrams than drawings from nature. That is, they are rather representations of the artist's conception of the plant, derived from previous knowledge, than his direct impression of the object he was drawing. The essential forms of flowers and leaves are generally indicated in such a way that they can be recognized, but there is hardly any attempt to maintain the proportions of the parts. The flowers are generally greatly exaggerated in size, and the roots, where shown, are conventional in form. In fact, we derive the same impression of a traditional and borrowed art, copied by one artist from another, that we get from the old classical figures of plants. This is the more remarkable when we know what vastly superior pictures of flowers and herbs are to be found in a number of mediæval MSS. In most copies the figures are rudely coloured.

It seems to me, therefore, quite possible that the figures, as well as the text, may have been much older than the date of printing, and may have been copied from some older MSS. now unknown.

This is, of course, only a conjecture. I cannot adduce any instances of such figures, though there are mediæval MS. books of plants with very rough drawings. The figures of *Herbarius* are not borrowed directly from the classical tradition represented by Apuleius. No one can be shown to be identical in the two series. The MSS., if any, on which *Herbarius* was based, could only be discovered in German libraries, and I am not aware that any such have been brought to light, though I should still expect the discovery of some transitional figures.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that there is nothing, either in the text or the figures, to show that both may not have been considerably older than the date of publication.

Editions of Herbarius.

The editions of this work are numerous, some of them are dated, most undated. Of the dated editions none is earlier than 1484; and in the undated editions there is nothing to show that they were printed before this date.

8. Arnoglossus = Plantago. *Herbarius Moguntiæ impressus.* 1484.

I will speak of the dated editions first :—

Herbarius Patavinus.—In 1485 appeared an edition printed at Passau by an anonymous printer.

On Leaf 1, recto :—*Herbarius Pataviæ im||pressus Anno domī ⁊cete||ra* LXXXV.

Leaf 2, recto :—[R]ogatu plurimor || īopū nūmor egētiū appotecas re||

The preliminary portion is precisely the same as in the *Moguntinus*, and arranged in the same way. On folio 5a begins the same series of 150 chapters, each with the figure of a plant, surmounted by a numeral. The concluding parts are also identical in text and arrangement The book consists of 174 leaves (one f. 156 blank), usually 32 lines in a full page (f. 5b 34).

The cuts are evidently copied from the *Moguntinus*, but are slightly different, and usually reversed. They are numbered 1–150, but Nos. 28, 29, 30 are in different order from those in No. 1. No. 96 (Nasturtium) is printed upside down, and so is, in some copies, No. 148 (Urtica). This edition may be known from the preceding, even when the title is wanting, by the German names of the herbs, which are sometimes differently spelt, through dialectic variation, and sometimes quite distinct. I subjoin a Table of the first eight :—

Latin.	H. Moguntinus, 1484.	H. Patavinus, 1485.	English Names.
1 Absintheum	Wermut	Wermut	Wormwood
2 Abrotanum	Stawortzel	Gartham	Southernwood
3 Altea	Ybiswortzel	Wildpapel	? Hollyhock
4 Acorus	Gellililien	Gelschwertel	Yellow flag
5 Acetosa	Sueramprich	Sawer ampfer	Sorrel
6 Agrimonia	Odermenich	Hail Allerwelt	Agrimony
7 Alleum	Knobelauch	Knoblach	Garlick
8 Alkakenge	Boberellen	Indentockel	Winter cherry

Another point for identification is a misprint, *de fractibus* for *de fructibus*, on the second page of the preface of the Passau edition, 1485.

(Hain * 8,445. Pritzel 11,868. Choulant No. 6.)

The fact that this edition was printed at Passau (or Patavia), and hence sometimes called *Aggregator Patavinus* led to its being confounded with a book connected by name with Padua (Patavium), and called *Aggregator Paduanus de medicinis simplicibus*, the work of Jacobus de Dondis, a writer of the fourteenth century. The name "Aggregator" is the only thing common to the two books, which differ totally in contents and arrangement, as well as in size and appearance when printed. There ought to be no confusion, but as the *Herbarius* has been on this account attributed to Jacobus de Dondis, the error must be mentioned. The printed edition of Jacobus de Dondis is a large folio without figures, with no date, place, or printer's name. It is notable as being one of the productions of the unknown printer who used a remarkable "R." (Hain, *6,395).

Another edition was printed at Passau in the next year, 1486. Herbarius Pataviæ im‖pressus, Anno domini et ce‖tera, lxxxvi, the title differing in the division of the word cetera (Hain *8,446, Pritzel 11,869, Choulant No. 7).—I have not seen this edition.

Another edition, described by Hain from an imperfect copy, *8,447, is said also to have been printed at Passau.

Undated Latin Editions of Herbarius.

There are several other editions of this work, some without printer's name, some without place, some without both, which it is very difficult to identify or discriminate. All are on small quarto, similar in arrangement, with the preface beginning "Rogatu plurimorum," referring to the name "Aggregator," 150 descriptions of plants, each with a figure, and supplementary chapters at the end, making 174 leaves when complete.

It is evident that the most distinguishing mark ought to be, as in the dated editions, on the first leaf, but these books being often imperfect, such evidence may be wanting.

The comparison of types I am not competent to speak of, but it appears that though the printer may be thus indicated, it will rarely be

possible to fix the date nearer than within a year or two. Moreover, it is difficult to carry out the comparison except in a large library where the volumes can be placed side by side. Several of these editions are distinguished by the language in which the synonyms of the Latin names are given. German, Flemish, Dutch, and, in one instance, French Translations will be spoken of later.

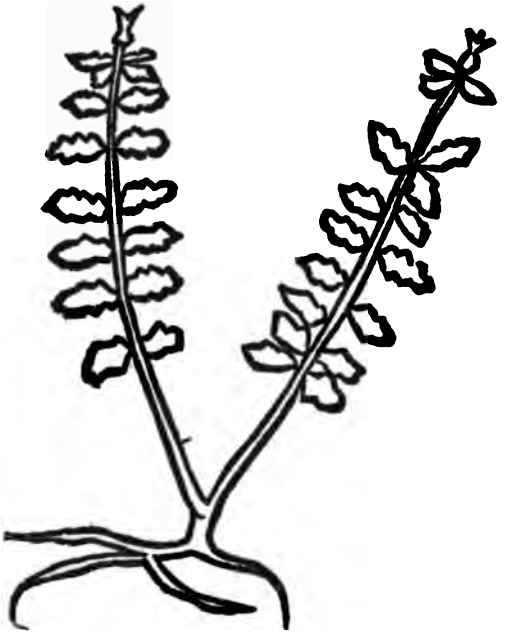
The important question is whether any of these editions are, as supposed by some bibliographers, earlier than the Mainz edition of 1484. This seems to be, on internal evidence, most improbable, but the external evidence may be examined :—

The edition 8,443 Hain (not seen) is fully described by Choulant from actual inspection (No. 2*). It has on leaf 1, recto, *Herbarius* as title. The rest of the book agrees with the Mainz edition, having 150 figures: a blank leaf in the same place as the other recto. It has only 172 leaves (instead of 174) of 33 lines. The figures, says Choulant, are smaller and inferior in execution, but evidently copied from those of No. 1. The names are in Latin and German.

Another edition (Brit. Mus. I.A. 39,859) has French synonymsf or thirty of the herbs, and must presumably have been printed in France. There is no leaf with a title. The usual preface and other preliminary matter occupy three leaves. After this begins the series of 150 figures of herbs—Sig. a, recto, *Absinthium—Asuyne*, next leaf *Abrotanum—Aurone*, and so on. The second part of the book is arranged as in other editions. There are signatures, but no numbers to the chapters.

Now it is clear that if any copy of the above-mentioned editions had lost the first leaf, or had a blank fly-leaf which was mistaken for a part of the book, it might be one of the dated editions, though described as without date or place.

Therefore, in the absence of further evidence, there is nothing to show that any of these editions was not copied from the Mainz edition of 1484.



9. Calamentum. *Herbarius Moguntiæ impressus.* 1484.

There are several undated copies in the British Museum. That with press mark I.A. 288 (formerly 448. d. 1), appears to agree in every particular with Schöffer's edition of 1484, except that the first leaf is wanting or replaced by a blank leaf, which appears to me not to be a part of the book†. The copy from which our facsimiles are taken (I.A. 289; Proctor 142) is a duplicate.

The only undated edition with respect to which the question of priority to the Mainz edition could arise, is one attributed to the press of John Veldener at Cuylenborch (Campbell 916; Proctor 9,299; Brit. Mus. copy, I.A. 49,335), which in its general arrangement precisely agrees with the other.

Leaf 1, recto.—*Herbarius* i Latino cū figuris, and an ornamental wood-block showing a shield with two lions as supporters in a frame.

Leaf 2, recto.—(R)ogatu plurimorum, etc.; *i.e.*, the preface as in other editions, followed by the same preliminary matter, and 150 numbered chapters each with a figure of a plant, the Latin name and synonym in Dutch and Flemish? The second part of the book also agrees with other editions; total—174 leaves of 27 to 30 lines. The figures are nearly all

†This copy from Sir Joseph Banks's Library has in the right hand top corner of first page of preface the signature, Tho. More (part of the "e" cut off by the binder). It is well known that Sir Thomas More was a great gardener, and I presume that this was his copy. On the blank leaf facing this is the name "Jacobus de Dondis" as that of the author. Another MS. note says, "Herbarius Maguntiæ impressus anno 7c LXXXIV," which I believe to be correct. A more modern note on the fly-leaf points out a typographical defect in the number xlij, above a cut, where the second "j" has no dot above it. The same defect is found in the Kew copy of the *Moguntinus*.

†It is notable that several editions, or at least copies, are described, of which the chief distinguishing mark is to have the first leaf blank; in other respects agreeing with copies which have an imprint on the first leaf. This suggests that the existence of a blank leaf need not, by itself, be the mark of a separate edition, but may show merely that in part of an impression, or in some copies, the imprint was purposely omitted. Possibly this was with a view to the introduction of the book into some other city or foreign country, where foreign books were prohibited or subject to heavy duties, or to make it look more like a manuscript. I take for granted that the blank leaf has been proved to be a part of the book, either by examination of a copy in original binding, or by taking the book partly to pieces; otherwise it is easy to go wrong about a blank leaf.

the same as in the Mainz edition, but reversed. But Cap. 2 Abrotanum is from a totally different drawing, and one or two others differ. The whole book, except the first leaf, is so exactly like the *Moguntinus*, that it is quite clear that either it must have been copied from that, or that must have been copied from Veldener's edition. By comparison of the two books alone, it would be very hard to say which is the true solution. The Mainz cuts appear to me to be slightly better in execution, but Veldener's have a little more work in the way of cross-lines. Some light is, however, thrown on the question by comparison with a Flemish translation, also printed by John Veldener, and dated 1484.

This is an extremely rare, but rather well known book, about which a good deal has been written. It is the earliest known translation. That it was printed by Veldener, at Kuilenborg, is inferred not only from the types, but from two remarkable old woodcuts, found also in the *Spieghel onzer behoudenisse* issued by that printer in 1483, and traced, I believe, to a block book. The first (Tree of Jesse) is on verso of leaf 1; the other (Fall of Man) on verso of last leaf. On leaf 2, recto, is *Dye prologhe de oversetters uyt den latyn in dyetsche.* The figures are mostly the same as in the *Moguntinus*, reversed, but some much altered; that of Abrotanum is quite a different design. The chapters are not numbered, though the figures mostly are so, and the arrangement of the book is quite different from the Latin editions. It has 208 leaves (Brit. Mus. copy) without signatures. The colophon has *Ghemaeckt int jaer ons heeri* Mcccc. eñ LXXXiiij.

The British Museum pressmark for this edition is C. 14. a. 13 (2). (Proctor, 9,158; Campbell, 918; Hain, 8,449).

Comparing the figures in this with those of Veldener's first Latin edition, we see that in the former the cuts appear somewhat black and coarse, being printed on very soft paper; but the blocks are quite perfect. In the Latin the blocks are apparently the same, but more clearly printed. However, several of them show signs of wear, that of Acetosa, for instance, showing a serious defect which is not in the Dutch edition. There are also

imperfections in other blocks (*e.g.*, Ameos) of the Latin edition. From these facts we should infer that Veldener's Latin was printed after his Flemish edition, though probably in the same year. But on the other hand the Dutch edition is avowedly a translation from the Latin. Therefore it must have been translated from some other Latin edition, not Veldener's—that is from the Mainz edition of 1484, from which also the cuts were copied, and this retains its position as the editio princeps.

The sequence of events would seem to be, that John Veldener obtained a copy of Schöffer's Mainz edition, and had the figures copied (revised) on new blocks, with one or two substitutions. He also had the text translated into Dutch, and published the translation first. Afterwards he brought out the Latin edition with the same blocks. Veldener printed still another Latin edition with the same blocks, but different types, after his removal to Louvain (*see* Campbell). This edition has the first leaf blank, but otherwise agrees very nearly with that described above. It has equally no name of place or printer; but is referred as above on good grounds by Campbell and others†. (Campbell 617.)†

Editions Printed in Italy.

1491.—Vicenza, by Leonard of Basel and William of Pavia. (Hain, 8,451; Pritzel, 11,870; No. 9, Choulant).

Leaf 1, recto, blank. Leaf 2, recto, woodcut frame with two figures, sitting; under which Arnoldi de Nova Villa; Avicenna || INcipit Tractatus de virtutibus herbarum; then Prologue.

† The copy of this edition described by Campbell is now in the University Library, Cambridge.

† Since writing the above, I have consulted a paper by the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw "On the Fifteenth Century Books in the Meyer Collection," Note E (Collected Papers, Cambridge, 1889, p. 227), on the editions of *Herbarius* printed by John Veldener. I am glad to be confirmed by Mr. Bradshaw's authority in the belief that the Dutch translation of *Kruidboeck* was printed before the Latin editions by the same printer, and that the latter were copied from the Mainz edition of 1484. Mr. Bradshaw does not appear to be in agreement with Campbell as to the sequence of the two Latin editions, since he places that with a printed title and Veldener's device (Ed. B) later than that with the first leaf blank (Ed. A); while Campbell arranges them in the reverse order.

5, recto; begin figures with description of 150 plants; end 146, with Usnea Finiunt [sic] Liber vocatur [sic] herbolarium de virtutibus herbarum. Impressum Vincentiæ per Magistrum Leonardum de Basilea et Gulielmum de Papiâ socios Anno salutis Mccccl xxxxi, die xxvii mensis Octob. Deo Gratias. Leaf 155 recto, Particula secunda. Leaf 156, blank. Leaf 172, verso, FINIS, Deo Gratias (4°, r. ch. c. s. et ff. num.). Ff. 172, with signatures.

The figures are for the most part copied from some one of the editions printed in Germany, but two or three are different. They are certainly recut, being finer in execution and the lines more delicate.

1499. Venice. 4°., by Simon of Pavia, called Bevilaqua.

Choulant No. 10* (Hain, 1807, as by Arnold de Villa Nova).

Leaf 1, recto. Incipit tractatus de‖virtutibus herbarum.

Leaf 2, recto. No woodcut as in 1491. At top of page Arnoldi de nova villa Avicenna ‖ Below this the preface, *Rogatu plurimorum*, etc.

Leaf 5, recto, begin figures, etc., of herbs to 154 verso.

Leaf 155, recto. Particula secunda. Ends 171 verso.

FINIS ‖ Finiunt [sic] liber vocatur [sic] Herbolarium de virtutibus herbarum ‖ Impressum Venetiis per Simonem Pa‖piensem dictum Bivilaquam. Anno do‖mini Iesu Christi 1499 die xiiij Decembris. Register, round letter, Sigs. A, a—x, 171 leaves, 28, 27, 37 lines. No German names. Order of plants as in *Herb. Mag.* Figures neatly drawn and tolerably natural.

Choulant No. 11. Another edition. Venetiis 1502. 4°., per Christ. de Pensa (Pritzel, 11,871).

Choulant No. 12. Another edition. Venetiis 1509. 4°., per Io. Rubeum et Bernardinum Fratres Vercellenses (Pritzel, 11,872).

These editions, printed at Venice, have given rise to the error of attributing the *Herbarius* to Arnold de Nova Villa, physician of the thirteenth century, who never wrote any such book. In the original preface the names of Arnold de Nova Villa and Avicenna are quoted, which induced

the printer of the Vicenza edition of 1491 to place on his first leaf a large cut of these two philosophers with their names underneath. In the edition of Venice, 1499, these figures are wanting, the printer apparently not possessing the block, but the names were allowed to remain, and thus appeared to be those of the authors; or, the name Avicenna being regarded as a sort of title, it appeared in the misleading form given by Hain, "Arnoldus de Villa Nova de virtutibus herbarum seu Avicenna." The error of attributing the work to Arnold is peculiar to the Latin editions printed in Italy (not the translations), and appears to this day in the catalogues of Italian booksellers.

Italian Translations.

There are several editions :—

Venice, 1522. 4°., by Alessandro di Bindoni.

Venice, 1536. Sm. 8°., by Francesco di Alessandro Bindone e Mapheo Pasini.

Venice, 1539. By Giovanni Maria Palamides. Pritzel 11,874.

Venice, 1540. Sm. 8°., by the same printer.

All these are in the British Museum. I describe the last.

Leaf 1, recto. Title as follows: Herbolario || volgare Nel quale le virtu de le herbe & mol||ti altri simplici se dechiarano, con alcune || belle aggionte novemēte de latino || in volgare tradotto. Woodcut, S. Cosmo S. Damian.

Leaf 1, verso: Alli lettori salute (preface of translator).

Leaf 2, recto (sig. a-a ii): Prologo de lo Autore. || Mosso da priegi, etc. (translation of *Rogatu plurimorum*).

Leaf 3, recto (aa iii): Tabula ordinata per alphabeto; ends F 6 recto.

Leaf 6, verso: Delicate Italian wood engraving of Annunciation, like those in some Aldine books (and not unlike Mallermi Bible), enclosed in an ornamental frame of different and rougher work.

Leaf 7, recto (sig. A), begins series of 151 woodcuts; ending fol. 158 (sig. T-8); verso: Finisse la prima parte.

Leaf 159 (sig. V 1) begins second part of 16 leaves, ending on fol. 174, verso: Finisse lo libro de le virtu de le herbe, etc.

Leaf 175, recto: Tabula . . . a ogni egritudine on eleven pages, in two columns; ends fol. 180, recto: Fenisse qui Lerbolario volgare, etc. Stãpato ne la inclita citta di Venetia con accuratissima diligentia per Gioanni Maria Palamides Nell' anno M.DXL. Registro.

The text is a close translation of the Latin *Herbarius*, but there are two additional chapters—Mele, Honey, and Vino e Aceto. The order of herbs is also nearly the same, but begins with Aaron, and has Mele instead of Matricaria at cap. 89.

The cuts, however, are copied, rather coarsely, not from *Herbarius*, but from some Latin edition of *Ortus Sanitatis*. Honey is represented by two tree trunks with bees, and Wine, No. 151, which is an addition, is illustrated by a view of a cellar with casks. These cuts belong to the Latin *Hortus Sanitatis* and not to the Latin or the German *Herbarius*. Thus the artists of the Italian translation did not copy the figures of the Latin editions printed in Italy. It is evident also that the Italian artists did not in any way improve upon the rough German originals.†

II.—HERBARIUS ZU TEUTSCH,

or the German *Ortus Sanitatis* (called also the *smaller Ortus*).

This book, which was the foundation of the numerous publications called *Hortus Sanitatis*, was printed at Mainz early in 1485. The name of the printer is not given, but the double red shield of Peter Schöffer at the end assigns it to him. Appearing the year after the *Herbarius*, issued by the same printer, it has been regarded by some authors (*e.g.*, by Jackson and Chatto, *History of Wood Engraving*, and others) as a second edition of that work in German. But really, neither the text nor the illustrations of

† A figure of S. Cosmo and S. Damian is found in an edition of the German *Herbarius* printed by R. Beck, Strassburg, 1521; from an old block used in Gersdorff's *Feldbuch der Wundarznei*, 1517, and other Strassburg books, which may have suggested to the Italian artists the idea of introducing these two patron saints of surgeons into a *Herbal*.

the two books are the same (though one part shows some resemblance), and as the newer work was completed on the 28th March, 1485, and must have taken a long time to prepare, it would have been hardly possible in composing it, to make much use of a book printed in the previous year.

The wide circulation and the celebrity of the later Latin *Hortus* and its successors, has tended to obscure the peculiar and unique position occupied by this fine folio, the publication of which forms an important land-mark in the history of botanical illustration, and marks perhaps the greatest single step ever made in that art. It was not only unsurpassed, but unequalled for nearly half a century.

Postponing the precise bibliographical description, I will give a general account of the book.

It is printed in Gothic character, in long lines, the language German.

The recto of first leaf is blank. On the verso is a large woodcut occupying the whole page, showing a group of thirteen figures, surmounted by a sort of arch decorated with foliage and conventional ornaments. From this hangs a blank shield. A date palm and an orange tree appear in the background. In the group three central figures are prominent. In the middle is an old man with long beard, richly dressed, in the manner in which mediæval artists were wont to adorn an ancient sage. His right hand is on a *closed* book; his left raised in exposition. On his left is another bearded figure, with a turban, dressed in a sort of doctor's robe, holding a plant in his right hand, and resting his left on a *closed* book. On the right of the central figure is another seated, close shaven, with a simple cap or biretta, and dressed in voluminous robes, but not precisely those of a doctor. He holds an *open* book, and is listening attentively to the exposition. His face is not conventional, as are the other two, but looks like a portrait. The ten figures behind have various head-dresses and garments, and appear to represent Arabs, Jews, ecclesiastics and others in mediæval costumes, mostly listening, some appearing to add something to the exposition.

10. Alkekengi = Winter Cherry. *Herbarius zu Teutsch.* Mainz. 1485.

I should conjecture that the central figure is meant for one of the fathers of Greek medicine, either Hippocrates or Galen; the turbaned personage for Avicenna, and the third principal figure, which looks like a portrait, and whose book is *open*, for the author. The remaining figures would bear no special identification. In the foreground are some plants very carefully drawn.

On the recto of second leaf begins the preface, in these words: *(O)fft und vil habe ich by mir selbst betracht die wundersam werck des schepfers der natuer*, etc. These words identify this book in the German editions, and in a Latin version are found in all editions of the later *Hortus Sanitatis.*

The preface is throughout so interesting in its matter, and so beautiful in feeling and language, that I should like to translate the whole of it.

On the second page of the preface occur these words: *Und nennen diss buch zu Latin Ortus Sanitatis; uff teutsch ein gart der gesuntheit.* ("Call this book in Latin *Ortus Sanitatis;* in German, a garden of health.")

On the fourth leaf, recto, begins the series of Herbs and natural objects. A large woodcut of Arthemisia occupies the greater part of the page, with the name below and description. There are 435 chapters, of which 379 have figures, 56 have none, most of the chapters, *i.e.*, 382, treat of herbs, 25 of animals (among which are Ox, Beaver, Cantharides, Fox, Hare, Elephant) or animal products, 28 of inorganic materials or compounds, such as Bole Armeniac, Terra Sigillata, Butter, Lime, etc. All are arranged in one alphabetical order.

The third part of the book, an index of drugs according to their uses, is arranged like a corresponding part of the *Herbarius*, and may owe something to it.

The fourth part is a short treatise on "the Colours of Urines" and their significance, the first leaf has a well-drawn woodcut of a physician inspecting a glass of urine, while a female patient with a basket awaits his verdict.

11. Cuscuta, Dodder, *Herbarius zu Teutsch.* Mainz. 1485.

The fifth part is a long index of diseases, with reference to the chapters containing medicines appropriate to them.

An alphabetical index of the herbs and other objects concludes the work.

The colophon, in red, states "Disser Herbarius ist czu || mencz gedruckt und geen||det uff dem xxviij dage des || mercz. Anno M. cccc LXXXV."

It is to be noted that though the name *Ortus Sanitatis*, or Garden of Health, is given in the preface, this was never used as the actual title of the German work, which is always called in the colophon (where one exists) *Herbarius*, while later editions (Augsburg, 1488, 1493, 1496, 1499, etc.) have as a title on the first leaf the words *Herbarius zu teutsch*. Moreover, in two copies which I have seen with old binding, this is lettered on the outside *Herbarius*. It is, therefore, more correctly called *The German Herbarius*, not *Ortus Sanitatis*.

Now to deal with the different parts of the work; we first speak of the preface.

In this the originator of the book states that observing the wonderful works of God, and His benevolence in providing natural remedies for all the ailments of mankind, he thought he could perform no more honourable, useful and holy work than that of bringing together in one book the virtue and nature of herbs and other created things, and portraying them in their natural forms and colours. For this purpose he caused a master learned in medicine to compile from the great masters, Galen, Avicenna, Serapion and others, a book on the virtues of these medicines. But while he himself was engaged in having them drawn and copied, he noticed that there were many noble herbs which did not grow in German lands. He accordingly interrupted his work till he prepared himself for a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. And that others beside himself might profit by this journey he took with him a wise and skilful painter. In his company he undertook a long journey through Italy, Greece and other countries to the Holy Land, thence to little Arabia, Mount Sinai, Babylonia, and by Alexandria into

Egypt. On his travels he observed the various herbs growing there, and had them portrayed in their natural form and colour; and on his return completed the work which he calls the Garden of Health, for the use of physicians, laymen, and especially apothecaries.

What appears then is that the originator of the work was a presumably rich man, apparently not a doctor, who had made long travels in the East, partly for the purpose of studying botany and bringing home drawings of plants. Also that the medical portion was compiled under his direction by a learned physician.

The identity of this scientific traveller cannot be established. One thinks of Bernard von Breydenbach, who travelled in the East accompanied by an artist, Erhard Rewich, and published an illustrated account of his journey in 1486. But for various reasons, too long to enter upon, it could not be Breydenbach or any of those who accompanied him on his travels. Doubtless such a pilgrimage was not very uncommonly undertaken by those who possessed the necessary means.

Some have thought that Schöffer, the printer, might be speaking in his own person; but in the preface to the later Latin *Hortus* the originator of the work is spoken of as *nobilis dominus*. The physician who compiled the medical portion was probably one Johann de Cube, who names himself in chapter 76, speaking of "*eyn gewisse artzney dicke mail versuecht an vil enden von mir Meister Johan von Cube.*" This doctor is identified with Dr. Johann Wonnecke, of Caub or Cube, who was town physician of Frankfort at the end of the fifteenth century. Nearly fifty years after, in 1533, the Frankfort printer Egenolph, brought out a *Kreutter Buch* by Eucharius Rhodion, which, in answer to a charge of plagiarism by Johann Schott of Strassburg, he declared to be based upon an old book by Dr. Johannes Cuba, of Frankfort*. The documents have been published, and clearly

* The title is:—Kreutterbuch von allen Erdtgewachs. Anfenglich von Dr. Johan Cuba zusammenbracht ietz widerum new corrigirt * * * * durch Eucharius Rhodion * * * Christian Egenolf, Franckfurt am Meyn 1533 (British Museum). But an edition or editions appeared without the name of Cuba.

show that in the sixteenth century Johann de Cube was regarded as the author. Choulant throws doubt upon Cube's authorship; but it seems probable that he at all events took part in the compilation.† It is hardly necessary to say that Johann de Cube had nothing to do with the earlier Latin *Herbarius*.

The Illustrations.

The woodcuts of this edition are very remarkable. They form a marked contrast with the rude cuts of the Latin *Herbarius*, being in many cases evidently direct studies from nature, and drawn with much skill. Such figures as the Yellow Flag (Acorus), the Winter Cherry (Alkekengi), and the Dodder, climbing on a plant with flowers and pods, show this clearly enough. They formed the basis of nearly all botanical figures for nearly half a century, being copied into all succeeding editions with ever-increasing badness and degeneration. It has not been sufficiently noticed how far superior are these fine cuts to all those found in later works in German, French, Italian, or English, till a new period of Botanical illustration began with the work of Brunfels, published in 1530. Some of them, representing native plants, are quite comparable to those of Brunfels for fidelity of drawing, though very inferior in wood-cutting.

It will naturally be asked whether the botanical travels of the anonymous originator of the work have left any trace in the illustrations.

There are several figures representing foreign plants, chiefly (if not all) those growing in Egypt, Syria, and the Levant; but it cannot be said that most of them bear any evidence of being drawn from nature, having generally no resemblance to the plants they profess to represent (*e.g.*, Scammony, Rhubarb, Storax).

But there is one of an exotic plant, viz., Senna, brought to Europe chiefly from Egypt, which had to me the appearance of being drawn from the object. But as eminent botanists have drawn the opposite conclusion, I submit to their judgment. It might possibly have been taken from

† Choulant, *Graphische Incunabeln*, p. 39.

12. Acorus = Iris, Yellow Flag. *Herbarius zu Teutsch.* Mainz. 1485.

dried leaves and pods, put together in an ignorant manner. Whether the complete herb was then an article of commerce I am unable to say. The figure of Ginger (Zingiber) seems as if it were taken from a growing plant, and is correct enough as a diagram. It grows in Egypt. There is also a figure of an elephant, which must have been taken from life. Other animals (muscus, musk-deer) are clearly fabulous. The figure of the Balm Tree professes to show the manner in which the balsam was collected in little cups. Cassia fistula (125), has some suggestion of the right kind of plant.

On the whole we must conclude that if there was a travelling artist who drew plants in the East, he either did not know their right names or was a very poor draughtsman. Possibly he was altogether a mythical person.

The Text.

This is arranged on a different plan to that of the Latin *Herbarius*. First are given a good many synonyms, Greek, Latin and Arabic. Then follow statements from "the masters" about the virtues of the drug. The country from which foreign plants come is often mentioned, such as Arabia, Babylonia, etc.; but these statements are borrowed from old authors, and do not profess to be based on personal knowledge. More authors are quoted than in the Latin *Herbarius*, but none more modern. It was evidently the compilation of a man of some learning in books.

Later Editions.

The later editions are very numerous.† In the same year, five months later, a reproduction was printed at Augsburg.

It is a large folio (379 leaves), chiefly in long lines, a few pages only having double columns. The large woodcut of the philosophers is roughly

† It is noteworthy that no later edition appears to have been brought out by the original printer, Schöffer, at Mainz. The same remark applies to the first Latin *Herbarius* (so far as I have been able to trace), and also to the Latin *Hortus*. Probably, as there was no copyright, and these works were immediately printed in other places, there was not much inducement for the original printer to reproduce his own work.

13. Senna. *Herbarius zu Teutsch. Mainz.* 1485.

copied and reversed. The blank shield of the Mainz edition is filled with a pine cone, the badge of the city of Augsburg. The figures are roughly copied and somewhat smaller, but essentially the same, occupying often a good part of the page. Most are reversed.

The colophon of this edition has: Hye hat einend der Herbarius || in der Keyserlichen statt Augsp||urg Gedruckt und vollendet an || montag nechst vor Bartholo||mei nach Christi gepurt M cccc||lxxxv. (August, 1485).

This edition has been assigned by Hain and others to Anton Sorg, but by Mr. Proctor to John Schönsperger. I am incompetent to speak of types, but must note that it is very different from the subsequent editions printed by Schönsperger, which are all in double columns. The British Museum copy, in old binding, is lettered outside *Herbarius*. [Hain, *8,949; Pritzel, *11,885; Choulant No. 2.]

1486. In this year Schönsperger printed an edition in his own name, differing from the two previous editions in being in two columns. It was the first of a long series of editions by this printer, all very much alike.

The large woodcut is reduced to five figures from the old group of thirteen, these being the foremost. The background is occupied by an apothecary's shop, with a young man pounding something in a mortar. The figures of plants are much smaller, so as to come into one column, and worse executed; a few new figures are introduced. The colophon has: Gedruckt und volendet dieser Herbarius durch Hannsen schonsperger in der Keserglichen || statt zu Augspurg an sent Bo||nifacius tag Anno Mcccc und || in dem lxxxvi jare. (June 5th, 1486.)

It is said to have 257 leaves of 42 lines, with signatures. I have not seen a copy, but it closely agrees with later editions which I have seen.

[Hain, *8,951; Pritzel, *11,887; Choulant, No. 6.]

Later editions were printed by Schönsperger in 1487 (?), 1488, 1493, *1496, 1499, one of which I have,

There are also other undated editions which I cannot here describe.†

Translations of the German Herbarius.

This work was frequently copied and translated into other European languages, and became the most widely distributed Herbal, having a greater popularity than either its predecessor or its successor.

French Translations.

The earliest known is called "Arbolayre," the word being evidently a corruption of Latin Herbolarium, or Italian Herbolario. The first edition is an exceedingly rare book, supposed to have been printed at Lyons. A copy lately occurred for sale in London, of which I made a hasty inspection.

† It has been supposed that some of the undated editions were printed earlier than 1485, and they have been referred to about 1476 or 1473. Dr. Copinger in his *Supplement to Hain* refers to the British Museum copy of an undated edition of the German *Herbarius* (546, i. 6), which is, I think, clearly copied, though indirectly, from the edition of 1485. The group of personages on first leaf is a rough copy of the original, and reversed, having 12 figures instead of 13, and the details are simpler. The text is in double columns, and the figures therefore smaller; they are 435 in number and mostly reversed, but some are from quite different designs. They could not, however, have been directly copied from the 1485 edition for the following reasons. The blocks have the number of the chapter cut in the wood, which is not the case in the original. Moreover, in the first twenty or so cuts, these numbers are written backwards, showing that the artist, in copying from an older block, had forgotten to draw the numerals reversed, so as to appear correct in the impression (this precaution would not be necessary with the figure itself). After Cap. 22, the numbers read correctly. It is barely possible that the artist copied the 1485 blocks and added the numbers, but much more probable that he copied from blocks which already had the numbers upon them. In this case it would not be the first or the second copy (in which the figures would have come out *not* reversed), but a third copy, or fourth edition at earliest. The origin of the supposed date, 1473, or *circa* 1476, appears to be as follows. On the first leaf is written, in an old hand, A° 1473. But this treatise is the first in a volume lettered on the back *Tractatus Medici*, containing several treatises, the last of which is *Metlinger de Infantum Morbis*, which has, in the colophon, the printed date 1473. Evidently the possessor of the volume, looking at the end, saw this date, and supposing it to be the date of the whole volume, wrote it on the first leaf; hence the mistake. When or where this edition of *Herbarius* was printed I cannot say, but it is not one of Schönsperger's double-column editions, and does not precisely agree with any entry in Hain. Mr. Proctor refers this edition to the press of J. Reinhardt, or Grüninger, of Strassburg (No. 497). *See* Dr. Copinger's *Supplement to Hain*, Part II, 3178.

It is said that the only other copy known is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The title is "Arbolayre contenāt la qualitey et virtus proprietey des herbes, gômes, et simēces extraite de plusieurs tratiers de medicine cōment davicene, de rasis, de constatin de ysaac, et plateaire, selon le cōnu usaige bien correct." It is a folio, gothic letter, in double columns, of 39 lines (? number of leaves). No place or name; said to be printed by M. Husz at Lyons *circa* 1485; probably later, but most likely before 1491.

On verso of title is a good copy of the large group of botanists from the German *Herbarius* of Mainz, 1485. It is essentially a translation of that work, but taken from a later edition. The cuts are generally the same, but smaller. The chapters are not numbered. Some of the cuts, at all events, must have been printed direct from German blocks, as they have a number in roman figures printed on the block itself; but the earlier cuts are mostly not numbered. This fact shows that the *Arbolayre* was not copied from the original *Herbarius* of 1485, nor from any of the Augsburg dated editions. It would only agree with editions without place or printer's name, one of which is described by Hain (8,947), and Pritzel (11,883), and Choulant (No. 4); another by Choulant (No. 3). The latter writer gives a full description, and mentions the peculiarity I have noted. Choulant describes another nearly identical edition from the Royal Library, Dresden. On the whole, the Strassburg edition mentioned above (Proctor 497) seems as likely as any to have been the original.

However, the work evidently has no originality, the text being translated, and the blocks, many, if not all of them, cut in Germany. Perhaps the only mark of individuality is that the French translator rejects the story that the male and female species of mandrake resemble man and woman respectively. He says that figures like these are made artificially. Accordingly, he gives no figure of the female mandrake.

There were probably later French editions with the title *Arbolayre*, but I have not been able to see any. Essentially the same work appeared,

14. THE FEMALE MANDRAGORA; UVA = GRAPE; ZINZIMBRE = GINGER; TRIFOLIUM = CLOVER. *Le Grant Herbier.* Paris. Jehan Janot. (?1539.)

however, in many editions with the title *Le Grand Herbier*. This title would be chosen to distinguish it from the little Latin *Herbarius*, which, though never translated into French, was, as I have said, once printed in Latin with French synonyms.

Many editions of the *Grand Herbier*, some in folio, some in quarto, are mentioned in books. I have not seen any, except a late quarto edition which I possess. The title (in red and black) is :—*Le grant Herbier en frãcoys contenãt les qualités Virtus, et pprietez des Herbes, Arbres, Gõmes, Semẽces Huylles et pierres precieuses Extraict de plusieurs traictez de medecine, Comme de Avicẽne Rasis, Cõstantin, Isaac, Plataire et ypocras selõ le commun usaige. Iprime nouvellemẽt a Paris.* 47. XXXIX. (Two woodcuts).

On les vend a Paris, a lenseigne sainct Jehã baptiste En la rue neufve nostre dame Pres saĩcte Geneviefve des ardans.

This could not have been first printed in 1539; but where or when the first edition appeared I cannot say. The title differs from the title of *Arbolayre* only in adding Ypocras to the list of authorities, and introducing oils and precious stones. The two latter are enumerated in the alphabetical order of plants, as in the old German *Herbarius*.

The colophon states (fol. CLXXVI): *Cy finist le grãt herbier translate de Latin en Francoys. Auquel sont contenues les qualitez vertus et proprietez des herbes, Arbres*, etc. . . . . *imprime a Paris par Jehan Janot Imprimeur et Libraire jure en luniversite de Paris*, etc. . . . .

On the verso of this last leaf is the printer's mark of Jehan Janot. ¶ *On les vend a Paris a lenseigne saĩct Jehan baptiste en la rue neufve nostre dame Pres saĩcte geneviefve des ardãs.*

The prologue is not the same as in the old German book, and the words translated from Latin show that something was borrowed from the Latin *Hortus*, but the main part of the work agrees with the *Arbolayre*, though the descriptions are much longer, and no authorities are quoted. The figures are small, and appear to be reductions of those in the Latin *Hortus* rather than those of the German *Herbarius*, but the names are often inaccurately applied.

It thus appears that we have the old German *Herbarius* with matter borrowed from the Latin *Hortus*.

This work was the foundation of the English *Great Herbal*, printed in 1526 and 1527.

15. ORIGANUM. *Le Grant Herbier*. Paris. Jehan Janot. (?1539.)

THE LATIN "ORTUS SANITATIS."

This fine book, the prototype of most of the later editions in Latin, or other languages, was first printed at Mainz by Jacob Meydenbach, 23rd June, 1491. There can be no reason for placing any undated edition earlier.

This book is often regarded as a Latin translation of the German *Herbarius* or *Ortus*, but this is not strictly correct. It is much larger than that, and consists of the following parts:—(1) Prohemium, for the most part a translation of the preface to the German work; (2) a treatise on herbs in 530 chapters; (3) a treatise on land animals in 164 chapters; (4) a treatise on birds in 122 chapters; (5) a treatise on fishes, etc., in 106

chapters; (6) a treatise on stones and minerals in 144 chapters; (7) a treatise on urines; a long therapeutical index of diseases referring to each division of the book separately, and an alphabetical index to each part. It concludes with an epilogue by the printer, Jacob Meydenbach, in which he claims for himself the credit of producing this book, and for the city of Mainz the credit of the invention of printing.

It thus appears that the section on herbs is the only one which could have been borrowed from the German work, and even this, as we shall see, owes very little to it.

The Latin work has on recto of first leaf the title *Ortus Sanitatis*, being the first book in which this name is actually used as a title. On the verso is a full-page cut, showing a group of nine figures, surmounted by an arch, roughly copied from the group of thirteen in the German work, with two small blank shields in the corners. The palm and orange tree are in the background, and the other decorations are rudely imitated. The three principal figures are the same as in the old cut, but reversed; and six other figures from the original group are added.

The next page (Aij recto) begins: *Incipit prohemium presentis operis;* and then in first column the preface beginning: *Omnipo‖tentis eter‖nique dei‖tocius naturæ cre‖atoris opera mi‖rabilia admirā‖daique mecum vici‖bus iteratis crebrius percogitando revol‖vi*—a translation of the sentence Vil und offt etc. This exordium distinguishes all (or nearly all) the later Latin editions.

The rest of the preface is much like the German, but differs in the way of speaking of the originator of the work. It says: ad idem aggrediendum nom minus me movit, sed et permaxime nobilis quidam dominus qui regna terrasque varias peragrando videlicet Alemaniam, Italiam, Hystriam, etc. (nearly as in the original) . . . . de sepe dictis herbis, animalibus, lapidibus ceterisque ad confectionem medicinarum necessariis, et propter raritatem incognitis magnam accepit experientiam, earum virtutem describens ac earum similitudines sublineamentis convenientibus certisque coloribus effigiare procuravit.

16. SERPILLUM. *Hortus Sanitatis.* 1491.

That is to say, the originator was the same noble person who had compiled the first book, whose travels are described, but not quite accurately, and who is now said to have collected drawings of animals, stones, and other drugs, which the original author does not state. The list of authorities referred to is somewhat longer. The book was to be called *Ortus Sanitatis*, and to be divided into eight parts. The exordium of the German preface is somewhat shortened. We learn here that the original learned traveller was a noble person, which he himself, naturally, does not say; and that he interested himself in this new undertaking.

Whether this was literally true, or whether the reference to the noble author was merely a bit of advertisement, it is impossible to say.

On the verso of this leaf the series of chapters on herbs begins, numbering 530, each with a woodcut. The original had only 379 figures of plants, so that 151 are added. This portion occupies 248 leaves, with signatures A—X and a—m. The cuts are much smaller, occupying half a column (the book being in double column) about 4 in. by 2½ in. Those copied from the original are altered for the worse, though sometimes finer in cutting, and often misunderstood. Thus in the first figure, Aron or Arum, there is in the original a slight ambiguity in drawing, which makes the spadix appear as if it were double. Accordingly in the succeeding versions of the cuts there appears a regular double spadix; a botanical impossibility. In the fine figure of the Yellow Flag of the original, the way in which the leaves wrap round the stem is beautifully shown; this character is quite lost in the copy, and so on. The differences are sometimes such as to suggest that the figures were not copied direct from the 1485 edition, but some intermediate copy in a later German edition. A few are reversed, but most are not so, as compared with the 1485 edition. The new draughtsman, even if clever, was an ignorant copyist. Of the new figures, some are of native plants, and roughly like; others of exotic plants, which appear fictitious; and others, such as Arbor Vitæ and Narcissus, are plainly fabulous.

17. NARCISCUS. *Hortus Sanitatis*, 1491.

We have, however, some curious cuts of the kind called "*genre bilder*," that is, figures of men or objects illustrating the subject. Under Starch (*Amidun*), we have a man pounding something in a mortar. Under *Acetum*, a cellar with casks; under *Aqua*, a fountain, with a grotesque monkey on the top; under *Caro*, meat, a butcher, and so forth.

18. CEPHOS ET CEMBROCOTA. *Hortus Sanitatis.* 1491.

One peculiarity of some cuts is that there is a combination of the white line on black, with the black line on white (*e.g.*, 38, 43, 54, 77, 138). The cutting is chiefly in outline, with occasionally a little shading—never cross hatching.

On the whole, though there may be some advance in the art of wood-cutting, these figures show a grave deterioration in the art of botanical illustration, as compared with the German *Herbarius* of 1485, which remains the high water mark in figures of plants up to 1530.

The text of the Latin book is very different from that of the German. Each chapter begins with a description of the plant, its synonyms, and often something about its geographical origin, taken from various authors. The medicinal virtues are described in a separate section headed "Operationes," and divided into paragraphs headed by letters of the alphabet,

19. VULTUR. *Hortus Sanitatis.* 1491.

at much greater length than in the older work. There is little resemblance, except in the synonyms; but of course the same authorities are often quoted in both works. In two places at least (Mandragora, 275, and Pæonia, 338) there is a definite quotation *ex herbario*, which does not mean the German *Herbarius* or the Latin *Herbarius Moguntinus*, but the *Herbarium* of Apuleius Platonicus, in the corresponding chapters of which the quotations

may be recognised. This shows that the later compiler had the work of Apuleius before him. The Latin text, if printed separately, would be three or four times as long as the German.

It follows that though Johann de Cube may have been the compiler, or joint compiler, of the German *Herbarius*, he was in no sense the author of the Latin *Ortus Sanitatis*.

The part relating to animals begins (on recto of Sig. n. 1) with the title in large letters: *Tractatus de animalibus || vitam in terris ducentium (sic).* On the verso is a full-page woodcut, representing a doctor discoursing with two bearded men, and a group of animals. On the next page begins the treatise on animals, with an interesting cut to illustrate "Homo," of a doctor demonstrating the form of a naked man. This cut is not reproduced in any later edition.

The figures of domestic animals are tolerably good; those of foreign beasts less so; the old elephant of the German *Herbarius* appears again, now perched in an uncomfortable position on the top of a mound. But the purely fabulous character of many of the beasts named, allows the artist's imagination free play.

The treatise on Birds begins (on leaf preceding sig. v. 1) with the title *Tractatus de Avibus*, and on the reverse a full-page woodcut showing the doctor in conversation with another person, and also a number of birds. The figures of real birds have a good deal of character, but there are many fabulous. Some good genre figures, such as a falconer, a woman with a basket of eggs, and so on, are introduced.

The treatise on Fishes begins on aa, preceded by a full-page cut of fishes and marine monsters, about which two persons, the doctor and some ancient sage, are conversing. In the figures of fishes, mythology, as might be expected, holds an important place, curious stories being borrowed from Albertus, Isidor, "Phisiologus," and others.

This part ends on folio ee ij, and on the other side of the leaf is the large cut which serves as frontispiece to the *Treatise on precious*

stones. It shows two doctors or philosophers in consultation, with other figures of dealers in gems seated at tables, and their customers. Since the actual gems and minerals do not readily lend themselves to pictorial representation, each chapter is illustrated with some genre figure, such as a lapidary with a table before him, or a miner, or a housewife putting coals

20. BORAX. *Hortus Sanitatis.* 1491.

on the fire, or a man extracting the precious jewel which the toad carries in his head. These lively scenes make this the most amusing part of this delightful old mediæval picture-book.

The last treatise is on Urines, *Tractatus de Urinis*, and is considerably longer than, as well as different from, that of the German *Herbarius*. It is introduced by a full-page cut, showing doctors examining specimens and

pronouncing opinions upon them, while patients and servants fill up the scene. At the end of this treatise is a final full-page woodcut, showing three doctors and several patients—one in bed. This is evidently a summary of the whole work.

Then follow the two indices, and finally the epilogue and colophon of Jacob Meydenbach, from which I must make a quotation :—

"Quem quidem librum omni diligentia collectum et elaboratum intelligibili caractere propriis impensis Jacobus Meydenbach civis moguntinus luculentissime impressit summamque adhibuit diligentiam operamque maximam ut singule herbe et singuli flores suos naturales colores et animalia ipsa volucres pisces denique et alia in hoc præclarissimo opere descripta suas sicuti eas natura produxit haberent effigies et figuras. Hoc modo lectitanti prodesse ac intuentem oblectare impressor ipse Jacobus voluit. Impressum est autem hoc ipsum in inclita civitate Moguntina, que ab antiquis aurea Moguntia dicta, ac a magis id est sapientibus ut fertur primitus fundata, in qua nobilissima civitate et ars et scientia hec subtilissima caracterisandi seu imprimendi fuit primum inventa. Impressum est inquam sub Archipresulatu Reverendissimi et Dignissimi principis et domini domini Bertoldi archiepiscopi Moguntini ac principis electoris cujus felicissimo auspicio graditur, recipitur et auctorisatur. Anno salutis Millesimo Quadringentesimo Nonagesimo primo. Die vero Jovis vicesima tertia mensis Junii."

The whole work consists of 453 leaves of 47 lines in double columns, gothic letter, with seven full-page woodcuts, and about 1,066 (as nearly as I can make out) smaller cuts.

The signatures are A–Z, a–z, aa–ll, i, v, A–E.

This is, therefore, the most complete edition, and the central one of the whole series of books called *Hortus Sanitatis*. It is far more complete than its German predecessor, and was the model from which all later editions were copied.

As to its authorship, it is anonymous; and, indeed, such a work could hardly have a single author. It had no doubt an editor, who was probably the printer himself, and the book must therefore be regarded as a publisher's enterprise. The doctors, draughtsmen, and wood-cutters—probably several of each—who co-operated are never named, and Meydenbach evidently claims all the credit for himself.

21. CALLAICA. *Hortus Sanitatis.* 1491.

LATER EDITIONS.

These are numerous, but probably all the Latin editions can be enumerated. No second edition was printed by Meydenbach himself.

First we place an edition, No. *8,941 Hain, without date, name of place or printer, which has been generally supposed to have been printed at Strassburg, but which Mr. Proctor refers to Cologne. I have no

knowledge of types, but would observe that the *large* woodcuts which it contains are of the Strassburg school, and are found in other books printed by Johann Grüninger, showing a peculiar physiognomy with long hair, and (in one at least) a chequered pavement. They are:—a large cut (verso of first leaf) of a doctor and three scholars; a rough figure of a skeleton (leaf 203, verso) and the interior of an apothecary's shop with two figures (leaf 333, verso), which replaces the frontispiece to the Treatise on Urines in the 1491 edition. The impressions from these blocks are quite fresh and brilliant.

F1, recto: *Ortus Sanitatis* || De Herbis et plantis || De animalibus et reptilibus || De Avibus et volatilibus || De Piscibus et natatilibus || De lapidibus et in terre venis nascen(tibus) || De Urinis et earum speciebus || Tabula medicinalis cum directo || rio generale per omnes tractatus ||

F1, verso: Large woodcut of doctor and three scholars.

F2, recto (Sig. A2): Prohemium [o]mnipotentis || eternique dei || totiusnatu || F 360 recto at end: Finis. Folio. Goth: char, 2 columns, 55–54 lines. 360 leaves. Signatures.

(Choulant, 15; Hain, *8,941; Pritzel, 11,876.)

My copy of this edition has the inscription in MS.: "Anno Domini M CCCCLXXXXVIJ, xii. kalend Novembris. Regnante Inclyto Principe Augustino Barbadiense. Empt. 2 guld, 10 pfenn."

Therefore it must have been printed between 1491 and 1497.

The woodcuts of natural objects are evidently copied from the edition of 1491, somewhat altered; the animals with more shading, and sometimes with the addition of a background. Most of the animals are enclosed in a frame. The chapters on herbs end fol. 202 recto. Fol. 203 recto, *Tractatus de* || *Animalibus*; 203 verso, skeleton.

The large cut at the beginning is found in editions of the *Distillirbuch* of Hieron. Brunsschwick, printed by Johann and afterwards by Bartholomew Grüninger, and the block was used in the Grüninger press up to at least 1532. The same is true of the cut of the apothecary's shop.

The block of the skeleton is found in Laurentius Phriesen's *Spiegel der Artznei* (Strassburg, 1519. and earlier), and in some editions at least of Brunsschwick's *Surgery*.

Some of the woodcuts of plants were also used in early editions of Brunsschwick's *Distillirbuch*.

It is, therefore, evident that the blocks originated in Strassburg, and if they were taken anywhere else on loan, were brought back again.

Another edition (Hain, 8,943; Choulant, 16; Pritzel, 11,878), which I have not seen, appears to differ chiefly in the title, where the word "directorio" is not divided.†

There is again a third edition (Choulant, No. 17), closely resembling these, which I have seen in London, in which the large woodcut of the apothecary's shop, which comes before the Treatise on Urines in the two last-mentioned editions, is placed at the beginning of the book, though repeated later. The title is somewhat differently printed: *ORtus SAnitatis*, etc. After the Herbs, on leaf 203 recto, the title Sequuntur alii Tractatus; and below this four small cuts, one from each of the remaining divisions of the work: beasts, birds, fishes and stones, with titles. The woodcut of the skeleton follows. Before the Treatise on Urines (leaf 303 recto) is a large woodcut representing a patient in bed, with three other persons, which is found in several other Strassburg books. On verso, the first woodcut repeated. The smaller figures are mostly from the same blocks as the editions last mentioned, but evidently more worn—some are different. They generally resemble the two other editions, containing 360 leaves of 55 lines, with signatures (not in Hain or Pritzel; Choulant, 17).

The three editions above mentioned are evidently closely connected, and probably came from the same press, the woodcuts, large and small, which they contain, being well-known products of the Strassburg school, though the printing is referred by Mr. Proctor to Cologne.

† Choulant refers to a copy of his No. 16, in the University Library at Leipzig, which has the MS. note—1500 Dedi pro isto libro ij. fl. Rhenanos. In Halberstadio 1500, Veneri xxxi et ultima Januarii; the price agreeing very nearly with that in my copy.

1511. The edition of the Latin *Hortus* printed at Venice in 1511 deserves mention on account of two very fine large woodcuts of the Italian school which it contains. There is also the rude figure of a skeleton, copied from the German editions. The small figures are rough and inferior copies from German blocks. If German blocks were used they must have been from some edition which I have not traced, but I feel sure they are copied from one of the editions above mentioned. It is striking that the art of the Italian draughtsmen and engravers added nothing to the natural history figures, which are worse than in previous editions.

Title. ORTUS SANITATIS, etc. *Colophon:* Impressum Venetiis per Bernardinum Benalium: Et || Joannem de Cereto de Tridino alias da Tacuinum. || Anno domini M cccccxi die xi Augusti, || Regnante Inclyto Duce Leonardo Lau||redano Venetiarium Principe. Laus Deo || Registrum.

*1517. Another edition has this date, but no indication of printer or of place. The title is printed in red and black, within a frame in the shape of an arch. The woodcut is of an entirely different type to those of the Strassburg school, and is decorated with foliage and figures.

The title is in twelve lines, red and black type: Ortus Sanitatis || De Herbis & Plantis || De Animalibus et Reptilibus || De Piscibus et Natatalibus || De Lapidibus et in terre ve||nis nascentibus || De Urinis et earum speciebus || Tabula Medicinalis || cum Directorio ge||nerali per omnes || tractatus || Anno M D XVII. Sigs. A–Kk vij. Double columns, 59 lines.

The smaller cuts closely resemble those of the undated editions. Choulant thinks they are from the same blocks as his No. 16; but, if so, they are a good deal touched up.

The above are the only complete Latin editions known to me, but very likely there are others. We may now say a word about the translations.

There is not, so far as I know, any complete translation of the Latin *Ortus Sanitatis* into German; but for the confusion of mankind, a portion of it was thus translated and frequently published with the title *Gart der*

Gesundheit; zu Latin Ortus Sanitatis, or some similar title, but comprising only the portions relating to animals and stones, wanting in the *Herbarius* of 1485, without any herbs. These imperfect editions were, no doubt, meant to supplement the German *Herbarius*, which, as we have seen, treats only of plants; so that the two together might make a complete *Hortus*, like the Latin edition of 1491.

A work thus composed of the German *Herbarius* and a German translation of the later parts of the *Ortus Sanitatis*, was first published by Johann Priess, of Strassburg, in 1507–9. It began with the preface of the old *Herbarius*, "Oft und vil," and gives the same number of chapters of plants. There is the figure of the skeleton taken from later Latin editions of the *Ortus Sanitatis*.

An edition of 1529, by Joh. Grüninger, Strassburg (which I have not seen), called *Ortus Sanitatis*, states distinctly that the chapters relating to animals and stones are translated from Latin into German, and that the herbs were added "*aus dem Herbario.*"

Hence we have the singular title *Ortus Sanitatis; Gart der Gesuntheit, von allen Tieren, Foglen, Fischen, und edlem gestein*, etc.

The title of the Strassburg edition, printed by Apiarius in 1536, is to the same effect. The so-called "Garden" includes no plants, but only beasts, birds, fishes, and precious stones. My copy is lettered on the binding *Garth der Gesundheit.*

The translations of a so-called *Hortus Sanitatis* into lower Saxon, Flemish, or Dutch all refer to translations of the German *Herbarius* or smaller German *Hortus* (1485).†

The only real and complete translation of the Latin *Hortus* was into French, a fine book, printed by A. Vérard, at Paris, about 1500, in

† I have lately seen, through the courtesy of Mr. Tregaskis, a Flemish translation entitled *Dō groṫ herbari 'met al sijn figurē der Cruyden ‖ om die crachten der Cruyden onderkennen * * * * Ghedruct Tantwerpen. Bi mi Simon Cock* 1547. Folio, Gothic letter, double columns. The text is that of the *Herbarius zu Teutsch*, with the addition of two short treatises by other authors. The figures are chiefly from the *Herbarius*, some from the Latin *Hortus*, some new.

two volumes. It is described by Mr. Macfarlane in his recent monograph on Vérard, page 70, from Henry VII's copy in the British Museum. A good copy was recently sold in London, which I had the opportunity of inspecting.

The first volume includes Herbs, the second Beasts, Birds, Fishes, and Stones, and the Treatise on Urines. On leaf 1, recto, is the title *Ortus Sanitatis*, translaté de Latin en francois. On the reverse, a large woodcut of an ecclesiastical person seated in a chair, and several other figures. It is reproduced in Mr. Macfarlane's monograph, Plate XXIV, from another work. At the beginning of the Treatise on Urines (on verso of title) is the well-known woodcut of an apothecary's shop, found in many editions of *Ortus Sanitatis*. The woodcuts of plants, animals, and other objects are all taken from the German, with one or two exceptions. It is difficult to prove a negative for a book containing more than a thousand cuts, but I do not think any new drawing of a natural history object is introduced. One curious exception is in the chapter on milk (which comes among the *herbs*, as in *Ortus Sanitatis I*). The German artist had illustrated the subject with a picture of a cow being milked. Vérard, for some reason, not having this cut, introduced a rough block slightly hacked about, giving a mere shapeless black mass in the impression. The block may have been a mere stop-gap, but the strange thing is that it was printed again in the second edition of this work by Philippe le Noir.

Mr. Macfarlane states that some of the woodcuts of beasts are in the same style as others used in some of Vérard's books. They are, however, all German, indeed, the art of this book, except the first frontispiece (a stock illustration) is entirely German, and the French artists contributed nothing to the art of natural history illustration.

It will be asked whether the borrowed figures are from German blocks or re-cut in Paris. This question is not easy to answer, because there are so many German editions. The blocks are not the same, nor directly copied from those of the Latin *Hortus* of 1491. They greatly resemble

22. Le Jardin de Santé. Philippe le Noir. Paris. (?1539).
[The woodcut was first used in the *Prouffits Champestres* of Crescentius. Paris. 1486.]

those of the so-called Strassburg or Cologne editions. Some blocks might possibly be the same; some look as if they had been touched up; some are quite different. On the whole, I should say that if they are German blocks, they were not used in any edition I have seen. The skeleton and apothecary's shop blocks are also very nearly, but not quite the same as the Strassburg blocks.

The French translation appeared again, printed by Philippe le Noir, in a book without date, but referred by Brunet to the year 1539.

The title is:—Le jardin de sante || translate de latin en fran|coys nouvellement Im||prime a Paris ¶ On les vend a Paris en la rue sainct Jacques a lenseigne de la Rose Blanche couronnee.

The second volume has the title, Le traicte des bestes, || oyseaulx, poissons, pier||res precieuses, et urines || du jardin de sante.

The colophon states that it was printed at Paris by Philippe le noir, whose mark occurs at the end of the treatise on herbs.

It is in two volumes, usually bound together, inferior in typography and appearance to Vérard's edition, but having nearly the same illustrations. The cuts of plants and animals re-appear with few exceptions, also the skeleton and apothecary's shop, borrowed by Vérard from the Strassburg press. But there are two interesting decorative cuts which are here reproduced.

That on the title is quite new and interesting, as the first attempt to give a picture of the "Garden of Health," a German conception, embodied by the imagination of a French artist.

On the verso of title is a woodcut of much historic interest. This block, first used, as we see, by Vérard, in 1485, is evidently partly copied from the title page of the *Herbarius su Teutsch* of 1485. The king is surrounded, not by conventional courtiers, but by the figures of Hippocrates, Avicenna, a man of Jewish physiognomy, and other figures like those of

23. Le Jardin de Santé. Paris. Philippe le Noir. (?1539.)

Herbarius. Evidently it was designed for a book of the same kind, possibly for a translation of *Herbarius*, since it only partly agrees with the subject of the book in which it apparently first appeared.†

The smaller cuts are nearly all from Vérard's old blocks, the black mass again does duty for milk. Others are substituted, and curiously enough, some of them are old blocks of Vérard's, much the worse for wear, from such books as the *Prouffitz Champetres*, which Vérard did not use in his own *Jardin de Santé*. There are some purely conventional trees from the same source, and some conventional ornaments. The cuts of plants are terribly degenerated by copying. I have given a figure of Senna, to show how, after being copied a dozen times, it has been degraded and even falsified from the figure of the German *Herbarius*.

This was the last appearance of the true *Hortus Sanitatis*.

Some of the cuts, however, were roughly copied in other books, as in some editions of the Latin poem of Macer, *De viribus Herbarum*, probably printed in France about 1500.

There was never any English translation of the Latin *Hortus Sanitatis*. The origin of the Great Herball has already been explained. But some of the cuts in that book come originally from the Latin work, though borrowed from the French copies.

I have now gone through the history of the three books known as *Herbarius* and *Hortus Sanitatis*, and given, I hope, a general account of the bibliography of the subject. But I am conscious of the many imperfections of the paper, which must only be regarded as a rough sketch, which may be supplemented hereafter. As a rule, I have been sparing of minute bibliographical descriptions, which would occupy much space and are rather suited for reference than for perusal. In most cases the descriptions in the standard books are adequate for those who wish to go more minutely into

† I should conjecture that Vérard may have brought out such a translation, under the name of *Arbolayre* or *Herbier*, since there are editions of these works, of which the printer is not yet identified. But so far as I know, no such edition is recognised as Vérard's.

24. SENNA. Jardin de Santé. Philippe Le Noir. Paris. (? 1539.)

The same figure is used for *Granatum Silvestre;* and is copied from a figure called Citrum in *Hortus Sanitatis.*

the subject. But I would venture to remark, that in literature such as this, a consideration of the subject-matter of the books, and the artistic character of the illustrations is quite as necessary as minute bibliographical details, to give an accurate history of the sequence of different books.

The whole subject forms a chapter in the history of Botany, and a chapter in the history of Wood Engraving, as well as an episode of bibliography. I only express the hope that others better acquainted with those subjects than I am, may devote themselves to clearing up some of the points which still remain obscure.

In conclusion, I have especially to thank our indefatigable Secretary, Mr. Pollard, for the great pains which he has taken in reproducing the illustrations of this paper, and for his kind help in other ways.

SOME ELIZABETHAN CIPHER-BOOKS.

By A. J. BUTLER.

Read 18th March, 1901.

AS soon as men discovered that words could be made visible as well as audible, one can imagine that they must have been exercised by the problem how to secure for the written word the secrecy of private talk, without abandoning the advantages of transmission by any hand and to any distance or of retention for future reference. Various expedients were, as we know, adopted in very early days; one of the most obvious being the employment of a messenger who could not read, coupled, in cases where the sender of the despatch was a very careful person, with a request to the receiver to put him to death when his errand was performed. Another method, which, however, was applicable only in cases where time was no object, was to shave the messenger's head, tattoo the message on his scalp, and send him with it when the hair had grown again. This, of course, required in the messenger absolute fidelity, as well as a forgiving disposition; since the average man might be expected to resent a painful operation, and take his revenge by entrusting the second shaving of his head to unauthorised hands. The classical instance of this method is, of course, the message sent by Histiæus to Aristagoras before the outbreak of the Ionic revolt. The story is told by Herodotus, Book V, and quoted by Aulus Gellius, in a very interesting chapter (xvii. 9), as an example of barbarian astuteness. Gellius also mentions a somewhat more humane

artifice; scratching the message on the wood of an ordinary writing-tablet, then pouring on the wax, and on this inscribing some unimportant message in the usual way.

As might be expected, with a higher social and political organization, these crude devices for secret communication were soon found inadequate. The famous Spartan *scytale*, a wooden staff upon which a strip of paper or leather was wrapped spirally, the message being then written upon this so as to cross the edges transversely, thus becoming illegible when unwrapped, and remaining so till it was similarly applied to a similar staff, was a not very successful attempt at a more scientific method. It was, perhaps, as good a device as the Dorian mind was capable of evolving; but its weak points are obvious, and indeed it does not carry us very far beyond the Australian message-stick. Almost as much as the more archaic methods, it postulated strict fidelity on the part of the bearer, and it was as far as they from anything like a scientific system of cryptography.

How and when the various forms of what we now call cipher-writing, that is writing which all may read, but none save the person for whom it is intended can understand, arose and developed, is somewhat obscure. We get a glimpse of it towards the end of "B.C." in a statement made by Suetonius and repeated by Gellius, to the effect that Cæsar in corresponding with Cicero and other friends on private affairs, used to write *per notas;* that is, he explains, with the letters so arranged that no words could be made out of them as they stood, but if you wanted to get at the meaning you must substitute for each letter the one that stood in the alphabet four (or as we should say, three) places from it—"a" for "d," and so on. Here we have, of course, the very simplest form of cryptograph, as seen to-day in the "agony columns" of our newspapers, and familiar to our youth in Poe's story.

But the art of reading this is easily acquired, and before long the need for some securer mode of concealment was sure to be felt. Something in the nature of a code had, as J. B. Porta reminds us, long been in use.

The hieratic writing of the Egyptian priests, the "jargon" of the mysteries, intelligible only to the initiated, afforded instances of the use of images or words to convey more than met the eye or ear. The abbreviations, again, of which Roman writers were so fond, would easily develop into symbols, which previous agreement might easily render intelligible to as few persons as the writer desired. If the Emperor Geta, for example, could write at the foot of his dinner-invitations the letters P P P P, to indicate that he proposed to regale his guests on peacock, pig, fish, and ham, why should he not adopt a similar plan for confidential messages? We know also that the Romans possessed a system of shorthand. Now nothing can well be more cryptographic than shorthand to one who has not learnt it; and from a shorthand open to anybody who will pay to be taught it, to one which is the secret of a very few, is but a short step, and one sure to be taken before long. "In difficult matters," says Porta, "and in great affairs, the besieging of towns, for example, or the storming of forts, in conclaves for the election of Popes and the like, we use cipher for security; for whenever kings, or their representatives at a distance, or conspirators, or any other of us find it expedient to set down the hidden counsels of our mind, and want to prevent our letters, when intercepted by spies, patrols, or watches posted in suitable spots (for long are the arms of princes), from revealing our plans, especially in a time like the present, when no man dares to forbid crime, we fly to cipher to afford us some guarantee."

Porta was writing about 1560, by which time, no doubt, on account of the greater complication of international politics and the consequent need for a scientific diplomacy, as well as for the reasons which he alleges—ciphered despatches had become universal in Europe, and a cipher code, more or less elaborate, had become an essential part of every diplomatic agent's equipment.* The Public Record Office possesses three volumes containing some 180 to 200 cipher-codes or decipherments of intercepted despatches belonging to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which have been collected from the State Papers of that reign and brought together, with an

* Panurge's manœuvres (Pantagruel, Bk. II, Ch. 24), will occur to most readers.

index of the persons for whose use they were constructed, and the approximate dates of their construction. Others, doubtless, still lurk among the uncalendared papers—I have come across two or three in the course of my own work. It is needless to say that to any student of the history of those times they are often of the greatest interest. Not only were they in many cases the actual work of famous men, Burghley, Walsingham, and others, but some of these little scraps have, it may be said, affected the policy of a country, and therewith the course of European history. For example, there is a half-sheet, covered with queer characters and having a few Spanish words in one corner, endorsed, in the hand of Walsingham's private secretary, "ciphre de don Juan." There is no doubt what this is. In the early part of 1577 things seemed to be quieting down in the Low Countries. The new governor, Don John of Austria, was conciliatory, towards both his subjects and the Queen of England, "making fair weather," as the English envoy put it. Towards the end of June, however, it was reported that a packet of letters in cipher, addressed by the Governor and his confidential secretary to the King of Spain, had been intercepted in Gascony by one of the Huguenot leaders, and sent to the States-General. The task of deciphering them was entrusted to Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde, who seems to have been regularly applied to when a job of the kind had to be done in the Protestant interest; and before the end of July it was known both in London and in Brussels (and soon afterwards to all Europe, for the States caused Silvius to print a statement of the affair in seven different languages—Leicester's copy is in the British Museum), that Don John's friendly professions were quite compatible with a suggestion that if Holland and Zealand could be regained by the Spanish forces, the conquest of England would be a simple matter. Naturally this discovery produced a considerable change in the attitude of the English Government and the States towards him; in fact, for the remainder of his short career he was in a state of hostility, overt or implicit, towards one and the other.

Now the half-sheet of paper to which I have referred is neither more nor less than Sainte-Aldegonde's decipher, or rather key to the cipher, of

these momentous letters, in his own writing; and the few words of Spanish in the corner are the sentences which touched England most nearly. Another copy, of the key only, is in the hand of the well-known Daniel Rogers. The cipher is not one of great difficulty, though not quite of the simplest kind, the signs for the vowels being combined with those for the consonants immediately preceding, so as to form a character differing somewhat from either.

This, indeed, is about as far as most of the ciphers in these books go. Perhaps, however, an even more baffling effect results from the use of several characters to denote the same letter. Here the ordinary rules fail, and a long inspection may be needed before a solution is found. If, however, the words are not run together, or divided in the wrong places, light is pretty sure to dawn sooner or later.

With cipher, properly so-called, is usually combined a more or less elaborate code of symbols denoting names of persons and places, sometimes also of objects either requiring frequent mention or likely to arouse suspicion by being mentioned at all. Numbers often serve this purpose; but all kinds of whimsical terms are at times pressed into the service. Thus for persons we have signs of the Zodiac, a favourite device with Lord Burghley. In a code for Mr. Bodley, sent to the Low Countries in 1590, written in the Lord Treasurer's own hand, we find: Duke of Parma, Aries; Count Mansfield, Taurus; Count Maurice, Gemini; States-General, Cancer; Council of State, Leo; Sir Francis Vere, Amphora; and so on. In the following year the like device appears in a code drawn up for an envoy to France. Here Aries is the Queen of England. One hopes that the document never came under her eye, or she might conceivably have shown some resentment at being separated from the sign which she would doubtless have regarded as hers by right; nor would it have been much compensation that the King of Spain appears as Scorpio. As a matter of fact, on this occasion Virgo denoted merely Normandy. A curious feature of this particular code is the use of days of the week to indicate persons

and things. The French ambassador is Sunday; the Duke of "Mercury," Monday; soldiers, Tuesday; victuals, Saturday. A despatch in which this code was employed must have read very oddly.

One useful point about this method is that it enables you to let off your feelings occasionally. Thus when in a cipher for Scotland of 1592 we find Sir Robert "Melvin," the elder and the younger, indicated respectively as Meshech and Kedar, we infer that neither father nor son was exactly beloved by those who drew up the code, one of them being again Lord Burghley.

Following this is a very lengthy document, containing several pages of words to be substituted for others on a somewhat curious system, in which the 'vera' and the 'ficta' always begin with the same letter. You mean "traitorous"; you write "thankful." For "suborn" we say "suck;" for "war," "weight." In names of persons, however, the rule does not hold; the Pope is "Beware"; the Emperor, "Doubt." Fathers Creighton and Parsons are respectively "weasel" and "ferret." The Queen Mother of France appears as "Anania," though it is not certain that this means what at first sight it appears to do, for as a rule the English statesmen of the period were not unfriendly towards that astute old lady. In the same cipher, which is dated 25 May, 1588, and is for the use of Lord Cobham, the Duke of Guise is "Achitophel." Elsewhere the Queen Mother is "mean" (that is "means"), the King of Navarre being "cause," and her son, the French King Henry III, "ignorant." Again, in an elaborate code of 1563, in the hand of the then Sir William Cecil, she is "tout;" the youthful Charles IX "rien." Neutrals are "balaams;" the Prince of Conde, "petit;" the Constable Montmorency, "compère;" Coligny, "seul;" his brothers D'Andelot and the Cardinal, "ensemble" and "courtisan." In another list of about 1576, endorsed "chiffre en forme marchande," probably of French origin, we find an example not devoid of malice. Burghley is "Guillaume le sage;" Walsingham, "François l'honnete." The French king is "le marié;" his queen "la pucelle;" the Queen Mother, "M. du Brouillas;" M. de Guise, "la confuse;" M. de Nevers, "Jean Finnet;" de Nemours, "las d'amour;" the Viscount of

Turenne, "le bel enfant;" the Duke of Alva, "le brouillon"; the papists, "les fâcheux;" Brittany is to be called "Guillefort;" Guyenne "Hampton Court;" Burgundy, "Redin;" Calais, "Dombertrand." For crowns we are to say "bales of woad;" for kill, "faire la cour," a grim euphemism; French cavalry are "ells of velvet;" landsknechts, "sheep;" guns, "barrels of salt." So a message on political or military affairs comes under the guise of a letter of gossip or business. There is, by the way, a curious variety in the cipher for Lord Cobham, already mentioned. Burghley is "visus;" the Lord High Admiral, "oculus;" the Earl of Leicester, "auditus;" Sir Francis Drake "aures;" Mr. Secretary, "olfactus;" Lord Henry Seymour, "nares." The Councillors, in short, are the senses; the men of action, the organs of sense.

Nearly all the ciphers are of one or the other of these forms, or, more usually, the two blended. Numerals are freely used for proper names, and form one of the worst difficulties that the decipherer has to deal with.

Occasionally the collector of the volumes has put in something not quite of the same kind as the general contents. One leaf, in a fine Italian hand, contains a table of numerical values for the different letters of the alphabet, after the Greek model: $A=1$, $B=2$, $C=3$ . . . . . $K=10$, $L=20$ . . . . . $T=100$, and so on. Below is an illustration of the result of adopting this system. The words "Il papa e l'antichristo" are given their numerical values, and the sum duly amounts to 666. On the back a later hand has written: "This cipher was found in Sir Thomas Parry's dispatch of 31 Jan. $160\frac{3}{4}$. It was not the one he used." Odd if it had been, one would say. Elsewhere is an ingenious compendium of the Ten Commandments:—

Unum cole Deum, nec jures vane per ipsum;
Sabbata sanctifices, habeas in honore parentes;
Non sis occisor, fur, moechus, testis iniquus;
Alterius nuptam, rem neu cupias alienam.

Save for a false quantity or two, this is as good as the jingle which most Frenchmen seem to accept as the original form of the same venerable code.

A decided improvement was introduced into the system of substituting letter for letter by the employment of what are called "nil significantia," that is letters or characters which the reader is to disregard when deciphering. One might suppose that a judicious distribution of these ought to make decipherment without the key practically impossible; yet the ingenuity of the age seems to have in some cases circumvented even this artifice. Sometimes an almost imperceptible mark appended to a character shows that it is for that turn to be treated as null.

A simple but effective method is the following:—You take, say, the King of Spain's titles and write them down, filling some twenty lines. Your correspondent has a copy, agreeing line for line. To indicate a letter, all you have to do is to write two numbers, showing the line in which it occurs and its place in the line. The key is not of a character to arouse any suspicion, even if found; but it can generally be carried in the head.

The most elaborate form of cryptogram that occurs in these books is one that is also given by J. B. Porta. The principle of it is this. You take a word or short sentence to form the key. Next you draw a square and divide it into so many smaller squares that each horizontal row and vertical column will contain the alphabet in pairs of letters: each of the small squares being occupied by a pair. To the left-hand side of the original square you apply one more column of similar squares, in each of which you write the alphabet in pairs once more, this time in capitals. You then write down your message, and over it, letter for letter, the key-word or sentence, repeated as often as may be necessary. The following example will make this part of the process clear:—

Key-sentence...DEUS PROPITIUS ESTO MIHI PECCATORI.
Message .....ilpa rlamentof ufin itoh ieri.

Find D in the left-hand column; look along horizontally till you come to i; take the letter which shares its square. To decipher, of course, the message must be written under the key-sentence, and the same process gone through. To quote the excellent Porta: "The reader may perceive what a manifold variety of writing this method affords, so that he hardly

ever sees the same character standing for the same letter." Yet in practice one does not often meet with it. Perhaps it was found too laborious; at any rate, most people seem to have been content with the character-for-letter system, or some modification of it.

A few words may be added to justify the inclusion of this paper in the Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*. The first printed book dealing with the subject of cryptography would seem to be the *Polygraphia* of Trithemius, Abbot of Spanheim and Würzburg. He died in 1516, and the book appeared two years later. Another treatise ascribed to him, called *Steganographia*, was published, perhaps at Lyons, in 1551, certainly at Frankfort in 1606, and several times afterwards in that century. I have not seen this, and cannot say how far it is an independent work. Porta's *De Furtivis Literarum Notis* was published in 1563 and 1602 at Naples, and in 1606 at Strasburg. Both he and Abbot Trithemius laboured under some suspicion of dealing in unlawful arts, and it must be admitted that works on cryptography with their queer symbols and gibberish sentences, bear an unholy resemblance to treatises on magic. It is no wonder, perhaps, that both of those learned men preferred to let their literary executors take the risks of publication; a term which bore a wider signification then than now.

Another noticeable book on the subject is the *Mysterium Artis Steganographicae*, of Ludwig Heinrich Hiller, Deacon, of Esslingen. This was published at Ulm in 1682, and I suspect was known to Poe. At any rate, many of the deacon's rules for deciphering are very like those given in the *Gold Bug*. He deals chiefly with the simpler forms of cryptograph.

It may be hoped that some better qualified member of the Society will turn his attention to the bibliography of this subject; he is pretty sure to come across a good deal that is curious, and, I fancy, almost untouched, in this country at any rate.

RICHARD PYNSON *v.* HENRY SQUYR.

DURING the present year a new calendar to the Star Chamber Proceedings of the reigns of Henry 7th and Henry 8th, now in the Record Office, has been published. By its help I have found the principal documents in the suit between Richard Pynson and Henry Squyr, to which I called attention in a paper read in November, 1897 (*Transactions*, Vol. IV, pp. 154 *sq.*, 165 *sq.*). While still leaving much untold, these new documents help to fill in the picture. To begin with, Pynson is found to be joined with two others, one of whom, Cornelius Johnson or Jansen, was evidently a foreigner. Whether they were workmen in his office, partners in the business, or mere friends, we are left to guess. Again, the "vicar the bocher" alluded to by Sutton in his deposition, turns out to have been John Vikers, a butcher in St. Clements. Squyr appears to have been not only a cordwainer by trade, but a constable of the parish, and judging from his own account of the part which he played in the business, he may be set down as a worthy forebear of Dogberry. The riot was one of the periodical outbursts of the citizens of London against foreigners. Pynson says they were of daily occurrence, and so terrified his servants that they left him, and in all probability this was not the first time that he had seen the worthy constable of St. Clements, the bailiff of the Savoy, and the butcher, engaged in the congenial task of "going for" the foreigner.

STAR CHAMBER PROCEEDINGS.

[HENRY VII. *No. 94.*]

RICHARD PYNSON *v.* HENRY SQUYRE.

I.

Lamentably compleynyth vnto your gode grace your poore orators and dailey bedeman, Rycharde Pynson, Cornelys Johnſon and Harry Wilson of the piſh of seynt Clements w^t^out temple barr. That whereas they and theyr saunts the xxi daie of Aprill laſt paſt wer yn God is peace aū the kyngs vnto the tyme that oon Harry Swquier cordwainer Iohn Walker sadler, baillye of the Sauoye & Iohn Vikers bocher dwellyng yn the seid piſh of Seynt Clements wyth yn the countie of Miđđ, accompanyed with divers other Riouttos and euyl diſposed perſons to y^r^ seid suppliantes unknown to nombre of xl. pſons and aboue att x of the clock att nyght of the same daye, ley in awayte of youre seide complainants att the parish of Seynt Clements a fore seyd to thentent to haue moordred and slayn your seid suppliants and soo according to their malicious and cruell entent they mett wyth youre seid complainants and theym then & their wyth force & armes cruelly and Riottusly assautyd, and theym by force droue yn to their houses or ells they had been slayn and att the same tyme and place maihemed and hurte đvers of the servaunts of your seid suppliants. And the said rioters thęn not content but fett a forme and other abilyments and wold have broken uppe the doore of your said orators & soo to haue executed their further malicious & cruel ppose yſ Gentillmen had nott ben there which at that tyme put theym from their ppose. And on the Weñsday then next ensuing the seid Riottors caused xv or xvj of their companye to lye yn awayte for the servaunts of the said Ric. Pynson yn flete strete yn London to thentent to haue murdred and ſlayn his

servaunts & so they mette wyth the same servaunts & theym then and their cruellye assauted sore bete & wounded soo that they were in great jeoppdye of theyr lyuys and att the same tyme and place the seid Riottors felonouſlye toke away a cloke and a shorte dager from on of the seid servaunts. And haue solde the same cloke to an Vppholester yn the piſh of seynt Thomas th'apoſtell yn London. Yet moreouer att divers tymys the seid Riottous euyll diſpoſed pſons haue ſo manaſed & thretened the same servaunts of the said Ric. Pynson & putt theym yn such fer & p'ell of theyr lyuys that they durſt nother goo to the church to hire their dyuyne services nor to go owt of their maisters doors to doo their maisters beſynes for whych assauts and manassyng the seid servaunts ben deptyd from the seid Ric. Pynson & haue left ryght greate besynes the whiche he hath nowe yn hande to be undone, to hys great hurte and vtt^{r} diſtrucion. Alſo the seid harrye Squier, John Walker, John Viker & other of their malicious & euyll diſpoſed sect haue made great othys and ꝑmiſes that their shall nother ffrenſhman nor flemmyng dwell nor abide wythyn the seid ꝑiſh of Saint Clements and thus dailye and contenuellye the seid riottors manass yor seid orators & their servants so that they nother their servaunts dare nott goo aboute their lawfull beſynez to the vtter vndoyng of your seid orators. In conſideracion whereof pleaſe yor grace to comaunde the ſeid harrye Sqwyer, John Walker, and John Viker to appeir before the kyngs highnes and the lords of hys mooſt honourable councell att such tyme & pleace & vnder ſuch certeyn peyns as by your grace shalbe lemyted to make aunswer to the ꝑmysses and your seid suppliants shall eū praie to all myghty God for your noble grace long to endure.

II.

The seūall Answherrs of herry Squyer cordyner, John Walker bayly of Sauoye, & John Vykers bocher to the byll of compleynte of Richard Pynson, Cornelys Johnson and herry Wilson.

Thes ſey that the seid byll of compleynt is insufficient, vncerten, & vntrue & onely Imagined of malice without any true grownd or cause

resonable to thenthent to vexe & trouble the seid Herry, Iohn and Iohn agēyn alle right & good concience. And furthermore thes sey that thes ne noñ of theym ner eny oder by their ꝑcuryng or sterryng be not in any thyng gylty of eny ryott aſſemble, ffelony, mayme, or of eny oder myſdemen^{r} offence or wronge in mañ or forme as is surmytted by the seid byll of compleynt. And the said herry seith that the same nyght immediatly aft^{r} the fyrſt Ryott suppoſed, syttyng in his houſe with one Wyll̃m halys his neyghb^{r} one ꝑſone to the seid Herry Squyer vnknown came in to his ſeid houſe & shewed hym & to his ſeid neyghbo^{r} of affray made in the strete, & therefore the seid Herry Squyer then & yet beyng one of the kyngs conſtables of Seynt Clements piſſh came out of his house accompanyd onely with the seid Wylliam halys & mett nygh his doore the seyd Richard Pynſon, one Thomas Sutton & Wil̃m berell, & in the kyngs name chrged theym to kepe the kyngs pees & the seid Richard Pynſon chged the seid conſtable to kepe the kyngs pees, & furthwyth with out eny further miſdemeanyng or hurt don betwyxt theym the seyd herry Squyer went home ageyn to his houſe in peſeble wyſe & there reſted alle nyght. Alle which mat̃ts thei be redy to ꝑve as this Curt wyll awarde & praith to be diſmiſſed with their reſonable coſts & damages for their wrongfull trouble in this behalfe.

[On the back of this document are the following affidavits :—]

a

Herry Squyer sworn vpō this his answer and vpō the bill of cōplaint agēñ him saithe y^{t} he is not giltie of any mān ryot as it is ſuppoſid in the ſaid bill-bi his othe made.

b.

John Vicar sworn and examyned, ſaith vpō his oth̃ that he is not giltie of any riot conteigned in the bill agenſt him. For at the time of the ſaid Riot ſuppoſid he was cōtinuallie in his owne hous. and come not forth of his doore vntill all was doon and evy body w^{t}drawn.

Thys ys the Replicacon of Ric Pynſon, Cornelis Jonſon and harry Wilſon to the seūall answeres of herry Squyer Iohn Walker, & Iohn Vikers.

The seide Richard Pynſon Cornelis Iohnson & Harry Wilſon sey that their bylle of complaynt is sufficient, certeyn & true and nott ymagyned of malice butt is cōmenſed on a true grownde and on a juſt cauſe as ytt shalbe euydently ꝑuede at all tymes. Ffurther more they sey that the seide harry Sqwyer, Iohn Walker, Iohn Vikers and eūy of theym and others by their ꝑcuring and steryng be gyltye of all riotts, aſſemblies ffelonys maymes and of eūy other mysdemeanour offence and wrong yn the seid bylle of complaynt conteynyd And ōū that the seid Cornelis, Ric & Harry Wilſon sey and auerr yn al thyngs as they yn their seid bylle of compleynt have ſuppoſyd and alleged all whych matts they be redye to aver & ꝑve as thys Court well awarde and ꝑie that the said Riotters may be punyſhyd accordyng to their offences.

TRANSACTIONS.

OCTOBER, 1900, TO MARCH, 1902.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME VI. PART II.

OCTOBER, 1900, TO MARCH, 1902.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

BY BLADES, EAST & BLADES.

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FEBRUARY, 1903.

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THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JOURNAL OF THE TENTH SESSION.

October, 1901, to March, 1902.

OCTOBER MEETING.

The first Meeting of the Tenth Session was held on Monday, October 21st, Mr. G. R. Redgrave in the Chair. Mr. Cyril Davenport opened a discussion on *The Report of the Committee on Leather for Bookbinding*,* copies of which, by the kindness of the Society of Arts, were distributed to the Members present.

After alluding to the paper on *Leathers used in Bookbinding* which he had read before the Bibliographical Society in November, 1899, Mr. Davenport then took some of the chief points of the Report in their order, laying stress on the fact that although the injurious effects of the use of sulphuric acid in tanning leather, and of heat and tobacco smoke in the rooms where books were kept, and other matters mentioned in the Report, were not now discovered for the first time, the Report was the first authoritative document on the subject, and would form an excellent basis for fresh work. Some of the experiments, moreover, as to the

* The Report, after appearing in *The Journal of the Society of Arts*, was reprinted as a shilling pamphlet, and may be obtained at the Society's Rooms, John Street, Adelphi.

protection afforded by tinted glass, were substantially new, and the two specifications for ordinary and expensive bindings respectively were admirable guides as to the instructions which should be given to binders when books were entrusted to them. The Committee had not yet arrived at any conclusion as to the possibility of stamping specially examined leathers as a guarantee of their soundness, but their work was not yet completed, and he hoped further results would follow.

Mr. Redgrave having invited discussion, Mr. H. B. Wheatley (speaking in his private capacity, and not as Assistant Secretary to the Society of Arts) contrasted the careful investigations made by this Committee with the so-called experiments made by Priestley at the Athenæum Club, which consisted of little more than placing a pail of water in the library, and testing the water after some days for injurious acids, which were duly found. He emphasized Mr. Davenport's point that the present Report was the first authoritative statement of the danger which had to be met, and that new subjects were already being prepared for the Committee's consideration.

Mr. Robert Steele, while recognizing the value of the Report, suggested that the Committee had so far only made a beginning; it had done little to help a librarian like himself, with not many more than 20,000 volumes under his charge, who would only need quite a few skins of leather of each colour a year, and could hold out no inducements to leather merchants to provide specially for his wants. What was needed was (*a*) the recommendation of some adequate preservative to apply to bindings as soon as they showed signs of decay, (*b*) some system of stamping to certify that the leather was of the kind it professed to be, and that it was properly prepared and free from injurious chemicals. It would be useful also if the Committee could illustrate the texture of different skins, so that the uninitiated might more easily recognise them.

Mr. Douglas Cockerell pointed out that it was by no means easy to pronounce definitely on the nature of some old leathers. As regards the present enquiry, he had been much struck by the genuine surprise of some

of the leather manufacturers when they were shown how quickly their goods decayed. It was evidently a new idea to them, and in several cases steps had already been taken to secure improvement. As regards stamping approved bindings, the work of the Committee had not as yet proceeded sufficiently far for them to propose any test which would be more than experimental. Perhaps it was not sufficiently understood how long a time was needed for satisfactory experiments. Three months was the minimum time recognized, and sometimes six months or a year would have to be allowed if trustworthy results were to be obtained. In the end he was sure it would be proved that it was no more expensive to make a good skin than to make a bad one.

Mr. George Potter raised again the question of a preservative, saying he had himself found vaseline useful. Lanoline was also mentioned. Mr. Cockerell thought that the effects of vaseline would not last for more than a year or two, while lanoline gave a sticky surface. Professor Proctor was making experiments with a preservative compounded of paraffin, wax and castor oil, and this seemed likely to prove efficacious.

Mr. Redgrave then summed up the discussion, and moved from the Chair "That this Meeting of the Bibliographical Society desires to express its sense of the value and interest of the first Report on Leather for Bookbinding, published by the Committee appointed by the Society of Arts, and its hope that the Committee will continue its labours." This Resolution, as also a vote of thanks to the Society for presenting copies of the Report, was carried unanimously, and Mr. Davenport was thanked for opening the discussion.

Mr. George Potter exhibited some interesting specimens of binding.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

On Monday, November 20th, Mr. G. R. Redgrave in the Chair, Mr. G. J. Gray read a paper on *The Early Stationers, Bookbinders and the First Printer of Cambridge.*

Mr. Gray's paper is being enlarged to form an Illustrated Monograph, but a note of it is given here for temporary reference.

SUMMARY:—Disputes between the University and Town concerning special privileges exercised by the University over the Town and its inhabitants were of frequent occurrence, and from the record of them comes our knowledge of the early stationers.

In 1276, "writers, illuminators and Stationers," are mentioned as subject only to the jurisdiction of the Chancellor of the University; their wives and families were not included in this privilege, but this was altered later. In 1355, "Stationers, writers of books, binders, and illuminators" are mentioned. In $139\frac{3}{4}$, the University petitioned Parliament to declare expressly that stationers and bookbinders were scholars' servants, as in the Charter given to the University of Oxford. The Barnwell Process of 1430 confirmed the privileges of "transcribers, illuminators, bookbinders and stationers."

The ancient Statutes of the University before the Reformation mention that no writer or stationer shall carry or use a bow and arrows, etc., without permission of the Chancellor. And the section dealing with the University Chests mentions that the keepers should be stationarii.

From 1454 onwards, we meet with the stationers themselves, "Stationaries" as they were called, and occupying an anomalous position. They were the official agents of the University for the sale of pledges, and official valuers of manuscripts and other valuables offered as security; receiving a yearly fee. The pledges, if not redeemed within one year, were sold by the stationary, who accounted to the University for the sale.

Gerard Waake or Wake, 1454 to 1480. A binder, dying 1479–80, was found to be in debt to the University Chests.

John Ward, $146\frac{8}{9}$ (?) $147\frac{1}{5}$ received yearly 6*s.* 8*d.* for the office.

William Squire, $148\frac{2}{3}$–$148\frac{5}{6}$, received yearly 13*s.* 4*d.* for the office.

— *Fydyon or Fydyohn*, $148\frac{3}{4}$, died ——(?); his goods and house were seized by the University for debt or debts owing.

Walter Hakey, $149\frac{8}{9}$ — [1504 and perhaps later]. A binder who lived in St. Mary's Parish, and was also Parish Clerk.

Garret Godfrey, probably Gerrit van Graten. A binder, living in St. Mary's parish, certainly from 1503, to his death in 1539. He was Churchwarden in 1516, and again in 1521; and an Elector, and an Auditor for several years. He was known to Erasmus, who probably once stayed in his house, and also to Roger Ascham. In 1529 the University petitioned Cardinal Wolsey that it be granted to them to have three book-sellers appointed by them, subject to their authority. The petition was not granted until 1534 by letters patent from Henry VIII, obtained at the procuration and costs of the booksellers appointed, who were Garret Godfrey, Nycholas Sperynge, and Segar Nycolson. By his will Godfrey left his fox-furred gown, and three presses with a cutting knife to Nicholas Pilgrim, his servant, who evidently succeeded to the business.

Nicholas Spierinck. A binder of Netherlandish family coming from Lille and Antwerp to Cambridge, settling in St. Mary's parish. He was churchwarden in 1517 and 1522; and auditor, and an elector for several years. He first appears $151\frac{4}{5}$. He was known to Erasmus. In 1534, with Godfrey and Nicholson, he was appointed one of the three University booksellers. He died $154\frac{8}{9}$, whilst his son was churchwarden.

John Siberch, the first Cambridge printer, also a binder, was settled at Cambridge probably in 1520. He printed nine works during 1521–2, and we have a few specimens of his bindings. He lived at the "Alma Regia," where Erasmus stayed when lecturing on St. Jerome. It is not known how long he stayed in the town; but there is a record of a bond of £20 owing by him to the University in $153\frac{8}{9}$, which was evidently left unpaid.

Segar Nicholson. Born at Maestricht in 1500 and educated at Gonvile Hall, Cambridge, a pensioner 1520–1523. In 1531 he was tried and imprisoned for his Protestant opinions, etc. In 1534 he was appointed one of the three University Booksellers (with Godfrey, his cousin, and Spierinck). In 1544 he had the lease of a house in (as now called) Trinity Street. But in

1564 he was ordained successively deacon and priest by the Bishop of London, and was then living in St. Edward's parish.

Peter Bright, stationer. Only known by the lease of a garden to him in 1527, and his will, dated 10 January, 1545. He was buried in St. Sepulchre's parish.

Leonard of Christ's College, 1527–8, repairing books, etc., in Trinity Church.

Nicholas Pilgrim. With Godfrey until his death in 1539, when he evidently succeeded to the business; was appointed by the University 16 Oct. 1539. He lived in St. Mary's parish. The administration of his will was granted 16 March, 1545, to Wm. Sprynck and others.

Richard Noke. Appointed University printer 1540. He was living $154\frac{5}{6}$ in St. Sepulchre's parish.

Peter Sheres. Appointed University Stationer 5 Feb., 1545. He lived in St. Mary's parish, and was buried in the church 20 August, 1569.

A new condition of affairs now existed. The University appointed no more stationers, but appointed one printer; and their history is given in Mr. R. Bowes's "Cambridge University Printers."

Thirty-one rubbings of bindings by Garret Godfray, Nicholas Spierinck, John Siberch, and N. G. were exhibited, illustrating the variety of the bindings which are amongst the earliest and the finest of the roll bindings of the time.

ANNUAL REPORT.

Previous to the December Meeting, the following Annual Report and Balance Sheet were circulated among Members by means of the Society's *News-Sheet.*

(1.) The ninth year of the existence of the Bibliographical Society has not been marked by any striking incident, but the roll of the Society has always been full, and its financial position is eminently satisfactory.

(2.) Since the last report was circulated, an exceptionally important addition has been made to the list of the Society's illustrated monographs by the issue of Mr. Proctor's *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century*, while in Mr. Barwick's *A Book bound for Mary Queen of Scots* we have had an exhaustive treatment of a minor but very attractive subject. The fifth volume of our *Transactions* has been completed, and the first part of Vol. VI, containing the papers read during the Session 1900–1901, is in the press. The remaining book for this year, Mr. Greg's supplementary volume to his *List of English Plays*, containing an introduction, a list of Masques, and an annotated synopsis of the seventeenth-century booksellers' lists of plays, is also nearly ready for issue.

(3.) For 1902 it is hoped that Mr. Steele's long promised monograph on *English Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century* may be the first issue, the bibliography being now in type. The excellent paper read by Mr. G. J. Gray at the November Meeting on *The Early Stationers and Bookbinders, and the First Printer of Cambridge*, will also be issued as a monograph if the difficult problem of illustrating blind-stamped bindings can be satisfactorily solved.

(4.) Negotiations, at present only in the preliminary stage, with the Grolier Club of New York, as to the issue by the two Societies on a uniform plan of bibliographies of the works of individual English authors, may lead to important results, and while these negotiations are pending the programme of publications for 1902 must necessarily be left incomplete. It may be found impracticable for the two Societies to collaborate in such a series; but in any case the Council earnestly desire to direct the attention of members of the Bibliographical Society to the importance of work of this kind. At the close of this Session the Society will have completed its tenth year. Its existence will have been amply justified by the production of many important contributions to the history of printing; but it cannot fail to be remarked that these contributions have dealt much more with foreign than with English subjects, and that with the welcome exception of Mr. Greg's *List of English Plays*, the literary side of bibliography has been

very slightly represented. It would be pleasant if before the Society starts on another ten years' work, plans could be laid for the issue of monographs as important for the bibliography of English Literature as those of Mr. Redgrave, Mr. Proctor, M. Claudin, Dr. Haebler, and Mr. Macfarlane have been for the history of printing. The Council can only promise that offers of work of this kind, if within the limits of the Society's finances, will be very gladly entertained, and that in the election of members priority will be given to any bibliographers willing to do such work.

(5.) Owing to the insufficiency of the space at present available for books the annual grant to the Library has this year been spent chiefly on binding rather than on new purchases. The Society has, however, received from the authorities of the Imprimerie Nationale of France, the very important gift of the first volume of M. Claudin's magnificent *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France*, and also the monograph *A la Mémoire de Jean Gutenberg*, published in connection with the celebrations of 1900.

(6.) Very shortly after the last Annual Meeting, the Society suffered the loss of two of its original members, Mr. R. C. Christie and Mr. F. S. Ellis. Mr. Christie presided at the preliminary meeting in 1892, which called the Society into existence; was one of its first Vice-Presidents, and while his health permitted, frequently took the chair at its meetings. His few contributions to bibliography were marked by the fine and accurate scholarship which distinguished all his work. Mr. F. S. Ellis was one of the first Members of Council, and after he relinquished the business in which he had gained an honourable name, made for himself a fresh reputation by his editorial work for the Kelmscott Press, and by his renderings of *Reynard the Fox* and *Le Roman de la Rose*.

(7.) On the invitation of the Council, Lord Amherst of Hackney has consented to fill the vacancy amongst the Society's Vice-Presidents caused by the death of Mr. R. C. Christie.

BALANCE SHEET.—1st December, 1900, to 30th November, 1901, inclusive.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
By Balance, 1900	171	14	4	Printing	221	2	0
Subscriptions for 1900 ...	2	2	0	Illustrations	69	2	4
British Subscriptions for 1901	214	4	0	Copying and Researches ...	0	9	0
United States Subscriptions for 1901	83	2	1	Vote for Library	14	15	7
Foreign Subscriptions for 1901	29	8	0	Rent	20	0	0
Subscription for 1902 ...	2	2	0	Expenses at Meetings ...	6	0	0
Entrance Fees	12	12	0	Hon. Secretary's Expenses ...	4	4	0
Sale of Publications to Members	29	10	6	Assistance for Hon. Secretary	2	7	6
Sale of Publications to Harrassowitz, and to Members of the Hellenic Society ...	3	18	0	Hon. U.S. Secretary's Expenses	1	1	0
Interest on Investments ...	10	3	5	Hon. Treasurer's Expenses ...	1	19	9
				Bank Charges and Exchange	0	1	8
				Balance	217	13	6
	£558	16	4		£558	16	4

ROBERT E. GRAVES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

I have compared the above with the Pass Book and Vouchers and find it correct.

4th December, 1901. EDWARD ALMACK, *Auditor.*

Assets.	£	s.	d.	Liabilities.	£	s.	d.
£100 2½% Consols	91	15	0	Estimated Liability for 25 Life Members	262	10	0
£200 4% N.S.W. Stock ...	207	0	0	Estimated cost of completing Books for the year and of Miscellaneous Printing ...	130	0	0
Stock of Publications ...	300	0	0				
Balance of Account for 1901	217	13	6				
Subscriptions in Arrear ...	2	2	0				

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Ninth Annual Meeting of the Bibliographical Society was held at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, December 16th, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. Jenkinson, in the Chair.

After the Annual Report had been read for the Hon. Secretary by Mr. Barwick, its adoption and that of the Balance Sheet was moved by the President from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Arnold Green for his services as one of the Society's Auditors, an office which he has resigned, members will be sorry to hear, on account of ill-health, and to Mr. Robert Proctor

for his Monograph on the Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century. Mr. G. R. Redgrave was elected as one of the Society's Vice-Presidents, Dr. J. F. Payne to fill the vacancy thus caused on the Council, and Mr. A. Neale as an Auditor in snccession to Mr. Arnold Green.

Mr. Douglas Cockerell then moved the re-election of the President and other Officers of the Society and Members of Council for the ensuing year. This was seconded by Dr. Wickham Legg, put to the vote by Mr. Cockerell, and carried, like the other resolutions, unanimously.

In returning thanks on behalf of himself and his colleagues, the President apologised to the Society for so seldom appearing at its meetings; the Society's Session coinciding with the two busiest terms of the Cambridge academical year, it was impossible for him to attend oftener, but he greatly regretted it.

DECEMBER MEETING.

At the close of the Annual Meeting the usual Monthly Meeting was held, the President remaining in the Chair. Mr. Wynne E. Baxter, J.P., D.L., read a paper on *Early Editions of Milton*, which also is being enlarged for future publication.

SUMMARY:—After briefly describing Milton's verses in the second folio Shakespeare (1632), and the first editions of his "Comus" (1637), "Lycidas" (1638), and Minor Poems (1645), with the Poems of 1673, Mr. Baxter dealt with the twenty-eight prose pamphlets and books written by Milton between the publication of "Lycidas" and his death, by grouping them under the printers and publishers responsible for their issue. THOMAS UNDERHILL, at the sign of the Bible in Wood Street, Cheapside, published his first three pamphlets (*Of Reformation*, *Animadversions*, and *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, all in 1641), also his tract on *Education* in 1644. JOHN ROTHWELL (possibly a relation of the Henry Rothwell in the service of Milton's father), of the Sunne in Paul's Churchyard, published *The Reason of Church Government* and *Apology against a Pamphlet* in 1641 and 1642. *The Judgment of Martin Bucer* was printed

in 1644 by MATTHEW SIMMONS of the "Gilded Lyon in Aldersgate Street." Simmons also printed the daring *Tenure of Kings* in 1649, and (as the official printer to the Commonwealth), the *Observations on Articles of Peace*, and *Eikonoclastes*. A second edition of this last was issued in 1650 by THOMAS BREWSTER and G. MOULE, of whom the former was severely punished, after the Restoration, as a printer of seditious works. A more popular work than the *Eikonoclastes* was the *Defensio pro populo Anglicano*, which went through nine editions in the three years, 1650–52. These were all printed by WILLIAM DUGARD, the Headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, who, after having been imprisoned for printing *Eikon Basilike*, became official printer to the Commonwealth. Four other pamphlets by Milton, the *Defensio Secunda* (1654), *Pro se Defensio* (1655), *The Cabinet Council* (1658), and a *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes* (1659), were printed by THOMAS NEWCOME, Dugard's partner as printer to the Commonwealth. His *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Church* (1659), and the *Readie and easie way to establish a Free Commonwealth* (1660, 4to), were printed by LIVEWELL CHAPMAN, who was shortly afterwards in trouble for printing seditious books. The printers of the educational and historical works to which Milton's prose writings were chiefly confined after the Restoration, were JOHN STARKEY, at the Mitre in Fleet Street; JAMES ALLESTRY, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard; SPENCER HICKMAN, at the sign of the Rose in the same place; and BRABAZON AYLMER, at the Three Pigeons in Cornhill.

Lastly, six pamphlets by Milton, including his *Areopagitica* (1644), were issued without any indication of their printers or publishers.

After summarising on these lines the circumstances of the publications of Milton's lesser work, Mr. Baxter dealt in detail with numerous points connected with the issue of *Paradise Lost*. It was suggested that the SAMUEL SYMONS or SIMMONS to whom Milton sold the copyright, was the son or nephew of his earlier publisher, Matthew Simmons. The book is a small quarto of 342 unnumbered pages. The text is surrounded with brass

rules, with an outer rule enclosing the numbering of the lines by tens, and an upper rule forming the heading of each page, containing the running title of the work and the number of the book.

The signatures (with the usual omission of J, U, and W) are A–Z, Aa–Tt in fours, Vv two leaves. The original binding was sheepskin. The price charged for it, 3*s.* 0*d.*, was far from excessive.

Although the first 1,500 copies printed make up the First Edition, there are various title-pages to these copies, dated in three separate years, 1667, 1668, 1669. The general result of Mr. Baxter's examination was to confirm the sequence proposed by Lowndes for the first four and last two of the eight title-pages he distinguished. As to the fifth and sixth title-pages, whose existence has been affirmed, Mr. Baxter had himself once possessed a copy of the fifth, which differs from the fourth in having three stars placed in a triangle before and after the author's name. The sixth title-page he seemed to regard as indistinguishable from the fourth.

The addition of the two successive printers' notes and the Argument to which they refer were next described, and a full examination was then given of the numerous small variations in the text, mostly in punctuation, the numbering of lines and the spelling of words. The theory that the book was kept in type till 1669, and copies printed off as required, slight corrections being made at each printing, was rejected because it would have required more type (about $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons) than the printer probably possessed, and because the more serious errata were never corrected. A careful examination of the numerous watermarks in the paper used for the book yielded only negative results. The suggestion proposed by Mr. Baxter, after classifying these minute variations under six heads, was that they might be accounted for by the constant catching up of the types by the inking balls, which continued in use until, in the eighteenth century, his grandfather, John Baxter, a printer at Lewes, introduced the inking roller. Previously to this, before the puller laid the sheet, the pressman "beat the forme," going over the entire surface with the inking ball and beating hard

and close, so as to make the forme feel the force of the ball. However carefully the various lines might have been adjusted and the forme made ready, it might always happen that a period, a letter, or even a word, would be, from time to time, drawn out by the ball and drop on the floor before its loss was detected. The efforts of the compositor, or of the pressman himself, to remedy these mishaps quickly were not always successful, and it was submitted that this was the most probable explanation of the numerous small variations found in the text. This explanation was greeted with applause, and Mr. Baxter then concluded his paper with a brief description of the volume of 1671 containing *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. It was suggested that the J.M. by whom it was printed for John Starkey might have been either John Massey or J. Maycock.

JANUARY MEETING.

On Monday, January 20th, at 5 p.m., Dr. Garnett, Past President, in the Chair, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A., read a paper on *English Illustrated Books, 1480–1900*.

SUMMARY:—The history of English Illustrated Books during the early period has been the subject of many valuable papers, and the modern period has been largely investigated, but little has been done for the history of book illustration during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

In dealing with the subject as a whole there are several lines of investigation. It is necessary to mark the distinction between the designer and the engraver. In a few cases both are united in one man, for instance in Bewick; sometimes the designer and sometimes the engraver is foremost. The names of few of the early woodcutters are known to us, while the metal engravers were careful to sign their works. Now that process engraving is universal the artist stands alone.

Illustration is also practical and artistic, and it is important to bear this distinction in mind. Scientific and technical books require to be illustrated, and it is well if the illustrations are artistic, but when a division becomes necessary, the artistic must give way to the useful.

It is generally agreed that the ideal of the best illustration for books is to be found in the use of the raised block, which can be made up with the type, and can be printed at the same time. Intaglio metal plates require to be printed separately, and their use in the text (necessitating double printing) is not to be commended from a technical point of view. It has, however, been carried out with success at different periods, and in special cases, where expense has been no object and great care has been spent upon production, some beautiful results have been obtained.

The greater part of the Fifteenth Century was a period of political convulsions, during which art in England had been crushed out of existence. When, therefore, the printer arrived there was no school of woodcutters in England to work with him. Although Caxton began printing at Westminster in 1477, it was not until 1480 that he introduced illustrations into his books. Woodcut initials first appear in the Æsop of 1484. How far Caxton obtained the assistance of English woodcutters has not been discovered. Certainly many of his illustrations were obtained from abroad. Other early printers were largely supplied with blocks from the Continent, and the vicissitudes of blocks form one of the most interesting lines of inquiry in this subject.

In the Sixteenth Century there was a gradual improvement in English woodcutting till the time of John Day. The general introduction of copper plates, however, had the effect of stopping its artistic growth. Metal plates were introduced about 1520, but the earliest artistic specimens are dated 1545 (Geminus). There was great activity in book illustration in the Seventeenth Century, mostly in the production of copper plates. In this century we find some of the greatest names of engravers, such as Faithorne, Hole, Hollar, Marshall, and Pass. Useful illustrations were general, and a special book to mention is Robert Hooke's *Micrographia*, 1665.

The greater portion of the Eighteenth Century was among the worst periods of book illustration, yet many fine books were produced. A great number of books were published with execrable woodcuts, but among the better class of literature good copper plates are to be found. These were

well engraved, designed with admirable decorative effect, but usually without any illustrative insight. Splendid books of prints were brought out in this century, and great honour is due to the public spirit of Alderman Boydell, who fostered the improvement of English copper-plate engraving. Horace Walpole, about 1770, prophesied that the world would never be induced to return to "wooden cuts." Within a few years the revolution of art set in, and Thomas Bewick, designer and wood engraver, arose, who brought his art to a perfection never known before, and placed England in the front rank among nations as a leader in the revival of wood engraving.

At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century Bewick and his followers decorated many beautiful works, but again their art was superseded by that of metal engraving. The Annuals (Keepsake, Bijou, Forget-me-not, etc., Picturesque and Landscape Annuals), beautifully illustrated by the best engravers of the day, became the fashion. Rogers's *Italy* and *Poems*, filled with the designs of Turner, Stothard, and other artists, were among the most beautiful books ever produced. Copper and steel engravings had their day, and in the 'forties there was a revival of wood engraving. Joseph Cundall published some beautiful works illustrated by Birket Foster, Sir John Gilbert, and other artists, and John Murray published in 1848 an edition of "Æsop's Fables" with one hundred illustrations by Sir John Tenniel. The steady flow of beautifully illustrated books by the best artists continued into the 'sixties, and culminated in the "Arabian Nights," with the designs of Houghton, Millais, Pinwell, etc., and Millais' "Parables of Our Lord" (1863). In the 'sixties there was a like revival of illustrations in certain periodicals such as *Once a Week* (1859) and *Cornhill Magazine* (1860), which obtained the support of the best English artists. During the whole of the Nineteenth Century the Whittinghams, at the Chiswick Press, exerted a great influence over the production of satisfactory illustrated books.

As in the 'forties Cundall improved the get-up of children's books, so at the end of the 'seventies Mr. Walter Crane set a new fashion with the "Baby's Opera," the late Miss Greenaway with "Under the Window," and Randolph Caldecott with his picture books.

Again, William Morris revived the art of book-production, and in his edition of Chaucer, with designs by Sir Edward Burne Jones, he gave being to a volume worthy to rank with the finest illustrated books of the past.

Wood engraving is now practically superseded by photographic processes, for the description of which there is no room, and nothing more than the bare mention can be made of Lithography, Etching, Photogravure, etc., which have been used with success in the illustration of books.

FEBRUARY AND MARCH MEETINGS.

On Thursday, February 20th, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. Jenkinson, in the Chair, Professor Foster Watson read a paper on *English School Books of the first half of the Seventeenth Century*, which is here printed with additional matter. The paper announced for the Meeting on March 7th was one by Mr. E. F. Strange on *Lace Books*. Unfortunately, Mr. Strange was prevented by illness from being present, and his notes were not in a condition in which they could be read for him. Mr. G. F. Barwick very kindly provided, as a substitute, an interesting paper on *Humphrey Wanley and the Bodleian Library*, which he chanced to have with him and which was afterwards printed in *The Library* for July, 1902.

From " Pedantius : comœdia olim Cantabrig. acta." *Lond.* 1631.

THE CURRICULUM AND TEXT-BOOKS OF ENGLISH SCHOOLS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Enlarged from a Paper read before the Society on February 1st, 1902,

By PROFESSOR FOSTER WATSON, M.A.

I.—*ELEMENTARY SUBJECTS.*

THERE are two great authorities for the text-books employed in English schools in the first half of the seventeenth century. Firstly, John Brinsley, in his *Ludus Literarius, or the Grammar School*, the first edition of which was published 1612, second and only other edition 1627. Secondly, Charles Hoole's *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*, the only edition of which was published in 1660. But as he tells us that this was the outcome of twenty years' teaching, we may fairly assume that the text-books named in this work are typical of the period which I have chosen.

We are so accustomed nowadays to consider the work of the elementary school as principally concerned with reading, writing, and arithmetic, that without enquiring into the justification of these subjects as the chief material of instruction to the youngest children, we may consider the text-books and methods of instruction adopted by teachers and recommended by experts as our first object in investigating the courses of the schools of the period.

READING.

To begin with Reading. Mulcaster had said: "Yet by the way for writing and reading so they rested there, what if *every one* had them, for religion sake and their necessary affairs?" (*Positions*, 1581).

Brinsley complained that the Grammar School was troubled with young children at all. "It is an extreme vexation that we must be toiled with such little petties, in teaching such matters [as reading] whereof we can get no profit, nor take any delight in our labours." In his opinion no one ought to enter the Grammar School until they were able to read English—at least the New Testament. Complacently he suggests that there might be some other school for the little ones. "To teach them would help some poor man or woman who knew not how to live otherwise." Hoole says more definitely that the Petty Schools, as they were called, were frequently in the hands of poor women or other necessitous persons. Indeed, Hoole laments that children, especially of the poorer sort, were early taken from school and "permitted to run wilding up and down without any control, they adventure to commit all manner of lewdness, and so become a shame and dishonour to their friends and country."

What the ordinary Petty School* of the early part of the 17th century was like may perhaps be estimated by a reference to one of the text-books for such Petty Schools, recommended by both Brinsley and Hoole, viz.: "Coote's English Schoolmaster, Teaching all his Scholars, of what age soever, the most easie, short, and perfect order of distinct Reading and true Writing our English tongue, that hath ever yet been known or published by any. And further also teacheth a direct Course, how any unskilfull person may easily both understand any hard English words, which they shall in Scriptures, Sermons, or elsewhere hear or read; and also be made to use the same aptly themselves; and generally whatsoever

* As to the slight esteem in which the Petty School was held *cf.* Hoole (Section on Petty School in New Discovery of Old Art of Teaching School): "The Petty School . . . deserveth that more encouragement should be given to the teachers of it *than that it should be left as a work for poor women, or others whose necessities compel them to undertake it as a mere shelter from beggary.*"

is necessary to be known for the English Speech. So that he who hath this book only, needeth to buy no other to make him fit from his Letters unto the Grammar School, for an Apprentice, or any other his private use, so far as concerneth English. And therefore is made not only for Children, though the first book be meer childish for them, but also for all other, especially for those that are ignorant in the Latin Tongue. In the next Page the Schoolmaster hangeth forth his Table to the view of all Beholders, setting forth some of the chief Commodities of his Profession. Devised for thy sake that wantest any part of this skill, by *Edward* Coote*, Master of the Free School in St. Edmonds Bury. Perused and approved by publick Authority, and now the 26 time imprinted with certain copies to write by, at the end of this Book added." My copy of this 26th edition is Printed for the Company of Stationers 1656. The first edition was published in 1590. The price of the book was one shilling. Nearly 32 pages are given to the Alphabet and Spelling, about 18 pages to a Short Catechism, necessary observations of a Christian, prayers and psalms, 5 pages to chronology, 2 to writing copies, 2 to Arithmetic, and the rest of the book gives a list of hard words alphabetically arranged and sensibly explained. The whole book consists of 79 pages.

Even this description will offer some material for re-casting in imagination the work done in a Petty School. But Coote, in his Preface, gives further inklings as to the clientèle for whom he is providing. "The learned sort," he says, "are able to understand my purpose. I am now, therefore, to direct my speech to the unskilful, which desire to make use of it for their own private benefit, and to such men *and women* of trade, as Tailors, Weavers, Shopkeepers, Seamsters; and such others as have undertaken the charge of teaching others. Give me leave, therefore (I beseech thee) to speak plainly and familiarly to thee. . . . . If peradventure for 2 or 3 days at the first it may seem somewhat hard or strange unto thee, yet be not discouraged, neither cast it from thee, for if thou take but diligent pains in it but 4 days, thou shalt learn many very

* This should be Edmund. *See* D.N.B. (Mr. Thompson Cooper).

profitable things that thou never knewest, yea, thou shalt learn more of the English tongue than any man of thy calling (not being a Grammarian) in England knoweth: thou shalt teach thy scholars with better commendation and profit than any other (not following this order) teacheth, and thou mayest sit on thy shop-board, at thy looms, or thy needle, and never hinder any work to hear thy scholars, after thou hast once made this little book familiar to thee."

But to return to the subject of Reading. Brinsley devotes his third chapter to the teaching to read speedily. The books he refers to for the purpose are:

1. Alphabets (the vowels to be learnt first).
2. A B C's.

This, as I shall explain, virtually leads to what we should call spelling —for which Coote's *English Schoolmaster* is recommended.

3. The Primer (to be read twice through).
4. The Psalms in metre.
5. The Testament.
6. The School of Virtue and The School of Good Manners.*

The above, he calculates, should take a year—and so by six years of age the children should be ready to enter on the serious business of the school, viz., the Accidence, *i.e.*, Latin Accidence.

Parenthetically, however, it should be observed that Brinsley had to deal with parents who thought it a crying evil that children, thus early beginning their Latin, did not go forward with their English reading also. Parents, to use his phrase, "will be at me" that their children should every day read some chapter of the Bible in English. "Now this I cannot possibly do, but they must needs be hindered in their Latin. Others, being more ignorant or malicious, upon every light occasion are ready to rage and rail at me, for that their children, as they say, do get no good

* *i.e.* "The Schoole of Vertue and Booke of Good Nourture for chyldren and youth to learne theyr dutie by," by Francis Seager. Earliest known edition, that by W. Seres, 1557; latest, 1677.

under me, but are worse and worse. For whereas they could have read English perfectly (it may be) when they came to me, now they have forgotten how to do it." Brinsley's remedy is to construe Lilley's Rules from the Latin, daily to write epistles and familiar letters to their friends in English, reporting of a fable in English, some use of the history of the Bible, and the taking of notes of sermons and reconstructing the notes into a whole.

But most enthusiastically of all, he advocates what is perhaps the chief characteristic of Brinsley's method of teaching Latin—the use of Translations of School Authors. Brinsley has not only the unspeakable audacity to countenance that *bête noir* of the modern classical masters, "cribs," but actually himself supplied his scholars with them, and published them for the use of others, together with an eloquent appeal for grammatical translations.

But to return to the earliest stage of teaching Reading. Parchment or paper fastened to a "board of tree," as the often-quoted mediæval poem puts it, and afterwards protected by horn, to make it better preserved from constant thumbing, contained the Alphabet in the form of a Horn-book. The History of the Horn-book has been comprehensively gathered into Mr. Tuer's book.* I am not sure whether Brinsley ever refers to the Horn-book, but certainly Hoole tells us, in 1660, that the usual way of entering children on reading is to teach them to know their letters in the Horn-book, where they are made to run over all the letters in the Alphabet or Christ-cross-row, so-called from the † being placed at the beginning of the Alphabet, "for fear," as it has been said, "the devil should be in the letters of the Alphabet."

2. The A b cie came after the Horn-book. It consisted of verses which contained key-words, beginning with a letter of the alphabet which was to be taught, *e.g.*:

> The Ape is then a funny beast,
> When on an Apple he doth feast;

*The History of the Hornbook. By Andrew W. Tuer, F.S.A., Author of "Bartolozzi and his Works," etc. With 300 illustrations. 1897. (Edition in one volume.)

or the well-known later:

A was an Archer that shot at a frog.

Comenius, in his *Orbis Pictus*, the title-page of which is given in a note on page 190, gives an alphabet more phonetically expounded from the cries of animals.

3. The *Primer* contained the prayers which the young and old were required to know, and thus became a text-book for the home and for the school, as well as for use in church. For this reason it came to have the alphabet and words of one or two syllables prefixed. Luther copied the idea of the old Primer in his Child's Little Primer, and in 1534 "a Primer in English with certain Prayers and goodly recitations very necessary for all People that understand not the Latin tongue," was printed by John Biddell. In 1545 King Henry VIII ordered an English Primer to be taught, learned and read, and none other to be used. This, besides prayers, contains several psalms, with lessons and anthems in English, and, in some editions, contains also the Catechism of Cranmer, "for the singular commodity and profit of child and young people," and in its complete form, had the alphabet and words of one or two syllables prefixed to it.

With regard to Catechisms—the subject is too large to deal with in detail, but I may note here that I count as many as sixty-eight different Catechisms in Andrew Maunsell's Catalogue of Books, published as early as 1595. In 1658, in Wm. London's Catalogue of Vendible Books, may be found a long list of those current at that date. Hugh Peters in 1660, in "A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an Onely Child," says: Though there are near an hundred several Catechisms in the Nation; yet (if sound), they must speak one thing, viz.: "Man lost in himself, redeemed only through Christ." This passage is interesting in showing the great vogue of Catechisms, and being addressed to his daughter with exhortations to read, the number of the Catechisms is an indication of the instruction of girls as well as boys up to the extent of reading. We may, from the facts thus quoted, and others which are

producible, gather that the Primer and the Catechism were material of reading and subject matter of reading lessons to an extent which is not unlikely to be overlooked.

4. Both Brinsley and Hoole require the young child to read the Psalms in metre. Nineteen psalms in Sternhold and Hopkins' famous metrical version had been published in 1549, and the whole book in 1563.

5. It is needless to say anything as to the unique place which the Bible took in Protestant Schools at the end of the 16th century as the very *fons et origo* of the necessity of reading.

6. The books on Manners, Civility and Courtesy seem to be an outcome from the important side of chivalric education. It is sufficient now to recall the publications of the Early English Text Society, edited by Dr. F. J. Furnivall, on Manners and Meals in the Olden Time, 1867. Even the great Erasmus wrote *de Civilitate Morum puerilium*, and Robert Whitington, Laureate Poete, translated Erasmus's Latin into English under the title of *A lytel booke of good maners for chyldren.* This was published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1532. Both Brinsley and Hoole require the *School of Good Manners* to be read by pupils. Hoole also recommends Hawkins's *Youth's Behaviour* (*i.e.* "Youth's Behaviour, or Decency in Conversation among Men. Composed in French . . . now newly turned into English by Francis Hawkins," 4th ed., 1646.) In the *English Schoolmaster*, of Coote, to which I have at such length referred, Manners are inculcated in nine verses, entitled, The Schoolmaster to his Scholar, of which the first two are:

My child and scholar, take good heed
  Unto the words that here are set;
And see thou do accordingly,
  Or else be sure thou shalt be beat.

First, I command thee God to serve,
  Then to thy Parents duty yield;
Unto all men be courteous,
  And mannerly in Town and Field.

There is one other book which I would wish to mention. Coote's book is clearly for what we should call the Elementary School. But "Manners" was a subject common to the Elementary Schools and the Grammar Schools —or, at any rate, to some of them.

In 1633, John Clarke,* of Lincoln School, published his *Dux Grammaticus*. He gives there a Dialogue of Duties, or Scholars' Manners. I have never seen this referred to. It is, however, in Clarke's own opinion, a comprehensive account of what was to be expected in the conduct of a schoolboy at school and at home. If he knows and observes all the directions here given, "he hath competent manners to order himself honestly." It is in the form of a dialogue between the teacher and pupil. It begins by the observation that it belongs to a master to teach his scholars "*both manners and learning*." Clarke requires that attention be given by the master to the form and fashion of the tongue, the pronunciation, the countenance and gesture of the children, after the Rhetoric of Cicero. Attention should be given to all that is required by Cicero in *de Officiis*, and then in detail are given the particular points to be observed by the mannerly schoolboy generally, in school and at home, particularly at table. It should be stated that this occurs in the *Grammar* itself, under the heading "The 4th Part of the Construction of Verbs Impersonal." The treatise is both in Latin and in English, and the Latin version, as indicated, is an exercise in the use and construction of impersonal verbs, so that instruction in grammar and manners is conveyed at the same time.

Two more points deserve notice, and I will then leave the subject of reading.

I. Besides Coote's book, Hoole says: "Amongst those that have gone a readier way to reading, I shall only mention Mr. Roe and Mr. Robinson, the latter of whom I have known to have taught little children not much above four years old to read distinctly in the Bible, in six weeks time or under. Their books are to be had in print, but every one hath not the art

* *See* p. 211 *sq.* for an account of Clarke.

to use them." It is not, I venture to say, so easy now to find those books as Hoole would lead the reader to think.

II. Brinsley, we saw, advocated the early beginning of the Latin Accidence (at 6). Hoole, in 1660, said instead of the Accidence, "which they do neither understand nor profit by, they may read The Practice of Piety, The Practice of Quietness,* The Whole Duty of Man,† and afterwards other delightful books of English history, as The History of Queen Elizabeth, or poetry as Herbert's Poems, Quarles' Emblems. By this means they will gain such a habit and delight in reading as to make it their chief recreation when liberty is afforded them." This is the earliest passage known to me which suggests the teaching of English literature in schools by reading set books—but, of course, all these are as much suggested for religious edification as for literary expression.

Writing.

Brinsley most conveniently provides a whole chapter, viz., Chapter IV of the Ludus Literarius, to this subject. How the Master may direct his Scholars to write very fair, *though himself be no good penman*, reminding one of Jacotot, who paradoxically held that a teacher can teach that which he does not know. Brinsley's directions are as follows:

"1. The Scholar should be set to write, when he enters into his accidence so every day to spend an hour in writing, or very near.

"2. There must be special care, that every one who is to write, have all necessaries belonging thereunto; as pen, ink, paper, ruler, plummet, ruling-pen, pen-knife, etc.

"3. The like care must be, that their ink be thin, black, clear; which will not run abroad nor blot; their paper good; that is, such as is white, smooth, and which will bear ink, and also that it be made in a book.

* By George Webbe, Bp. of Limerick, 3rd ed., 1631.

† Often ascribed to Lady Pakington, but more probably by Richard Allestree.

Their writing books would be kept fair, straight ruled, and each to have a blotting paper to keep their books from soiling, or marking under their hands.

"4. Cause every one of them to make his own pen, otherwise the making and mending of pens will be a very great hindrance, both to the masters and to the scholars. Besides that, when they are away from their masters (if they have not a good pen made before) they will write naught, because they know not how to make their pens themselves.

"The best manner of making the pen is thus:

"1. Choose the quill of the best and strongest of the wing, which is somewhat harder, and will cleave.

"2. Make it clean with the back of a pen-knife.

"3. Cleave it straight up the back; first with a cleft made with your pen-knife, after with another quill put into it, rive it further by little and little, till you see the cleft to be very clean; so you may make your pen of the best of the quill, and where you see the cleft to be the cleanest and without teeth. If it do not cleave without teeth, cleave it with your pen-knife in another place, still nearer the back; for if it be not straight up the back it will very seldom run right. After, make the neb and cleft both about one length, somewhat above a barley-corn breadth, and small, so as it may let down the ink, and write clean. Cut the neb first slant downwards to make it thin, and after straight overthwart. Make both sides of equal bigness, unless you be cunning to cut that side, which lieth upon the long finger, thinner and shorter; yet so little, as the difference can hardly be discerned. But both of equal length is accounted the surest.

"The speediest and surest way to learn to make the pen is this: When your scholar shall have a good pen fit for his hand, and well-fashioned; then to view and mark that well, and to try to make one in all things like unto it. It were good for the learner to procure such a pen made, and to keep it for a pattern, to make others by, until he be very perfect in it. A child may soon learn to make his pen; yet, few of age do know how to

make their own pens well, although they have written long and very much, neither can any attain to write fair withour that skill." (*Ludus Literarius*, cap. IV.)

So much to show the difficulties which beset the teachers of writing in the 17th century. More to the purpose of showing how writing was acquired is a passage from Hoole :

"Though the teaching of children to write a fair hand doth properly belong to writing masters, as professors of that art, yet the care of seeing that all they write in paper books and loose papers, by way of exercises, be neatly done, doth pertain to every school-master ; and, therefore, we shall here touch a little concerning that. . . . ."

The Country Grammar Schools and Writing.

"The usual way for scholars learning to write at the country grammar schools is to entertain an honest and skilful Penman, that he may constantly come and continue with them about a month or six weeks together every year, in which time commonly everyone may learn to write legibly. The best season for such a man's coming is about May-day, partly because the days are then pretty long, and partly because it will be requisite for such as are then getting their Grammar Rudiments, to learn to write before they come to Translations. The parents of all other children would be advised to let them take that opportunity to improve their hands, forasmuch as the benefit thereof will far exceed the charge, and will be a means of better order to have all employed together about a thing so necessary. The master of the school should often have an eye upon them, to see what they do, and how they profit, and that they may not slack in their other learning, he may hear them a part at morn, and a lesson at noon before their copies be set, or their books can be provided for them, and proportion their weekly exercises accordingly. And that the stock which they then get, may be better increased against the next year, the Penman should cause them to write a piece, a day or two before he leave them, as fair as they can, with the date above it, and their names subscribed underneath, which

the schoolmaster may safely keep by him as a testimony of what they can perform, and take care to see that their writing for the future be not much worse."

City Grammar Schools and Writing.

"(In London) it is ordinary for scholars at eleven and five o'clock to go to the Writing Schools, and there to benefit themselves in writing. In that City, therefore, having the opportunity of the neighbourhood of my singular loving friend, Mr. James Hodder (whose copy-books of late printed, do sufficiently testify his ability for the profession he hath undertaken, and of whose cares and pains I have had abundant trial by his profiting of my scholars for (at least) twelve years together; who had most of them learned of him to write a very fair hand; not to speak of Arithmetic or Merchants Accounts, which they gained also by his teaching at spare times). In the Token-house Garden in Lothbury, somewhat near to the Old-Exchange, I so ordered the business with him, that all my lower scholars had their little paper-books ruled, wherein they writ their lessons fair, and then their translations and other exercises in loose papers in his sight, until they were able to do everything of themselves in a handsome manner. And afterwards, it is not to be expressed, what pleasure they took in writing and flourishing their exercises, all the while they continued with me in the school."

Hoole relates that the great private schoolmaster, Thomas Farnaby, required his writing master to come to his scholars daily. Hoole adds: "I have been sorry to see some of that reverend and learned Mr. Hooker's sermons come in manuscript to the press, and not to have been possible to be printed, because they were so scribblingly written that nobody could read three words together in them. It is commonly objected to the best scholars in any of the three professions that they write the worst hands, and, therefore, I wish that care may be taken to prevent that objection at the school, to a future generation." (p. 287.)

I have come across the following books on Reading and Spelling, which are worth naming:

1. A Special Help to Orthographie: Or, The True Writing of English, Consisting of such Words as are alike in sound, and unlike both in their signification and Writing: As also, of such Words which are so neer alike in sound, that they are sometimes taken one for another. Whereunto are added diverse Orthographical observations, very needful to be known. Published by Richard Hodges, a School Master dwelling in Southwark, at the Middle-gate within Montague-close, for the benefit of all such as do affect True-Writing. *London, Printed for Richard Cotes, 1643.* [Thomason's note: March 2.]

2. The English Primrose: Far surpassing al others of this kinde, that ever grew in any English garden: by the ful sight whereof there will manifestly appear, The Easiest and Speediest-way, both for the true spelling and reading of English, as also for the True-writing thereof: that ever was publickly known to this day. Planted (with no small pains) by Richard Hodges, a School-master, dwelling in Southwark, at the midle-gate, within Montague-close: for the exceeding great benefit, both of his own countrey-men and Strangers. Approved also by the learned, and publisht by Authority. *London, Printed for Richard Cotes, 1644.*

3. The Plainest Directions for the True-writing of English, That ever was hitherto publisht: Especially of such words whose Sounds are altogether Alike, and their Signification altogether Unlike: And of such whose Sounds are so neer Alike, that they are oftentimes taken one for another. Whereunto are added divers useful Tables. Invented by Richard Hodges, a wel-wisher to Learning. *London: Printed by William Du-gard for Thomas Enster at the Gun in Ivie Lane. 1649.* [Thomason's note: June 29.]

4. Learning's Foundation firmly laid, in a Short Method of Teaching to Read English. More exact and easie than ever was yet published by any. Comprehending All things necessary for the perfect and speedy attaining of the same. Whereby anyone of discretion may be brought to read the Bible truly in the space of a month though he never knew letter

before. The truth whereof hath been confirmed by manifold experience. By George Robertson, Schoolmaster between the two North-Doors of Paul's in the new Buildings. *London, Printed by Thomas Maxey. 1651.* [Thomason's note: Nov. 20th.]

I have not space to deal fully with the old writing-masters. But of these, Peter Bales and Martin Billingsley may be named. Peter Bales won a golden pen worth £20 in a contest for handwriting from Daniel Johnson. He taught at his house, called in memory of the contest, The Hand and Golden Pen. He wrote, in 1590, the *Writing Schoolmaster*, for teaching "swift writing, true writing, fair writing!" In 1618, Martin Billingsley, master in the art of writing, produced *The Pen's Excellency or the Secretary's Delight.** Cocker, too, ought to be mentioned (1631–1675). By 1660 he had published ten books giving examples of writing. These he engraved himself. His fame is usually supposed to rest upon his Arithmetic, which, again, has been described as a forgery. It is certain, however, that he had high reputation as an Arithmetician, a fact which is indicated by the citation "According to Cocker." It is certain also that in 1657 he published his *Plumæ Triumphus, or the Pen's Triumph.* With a marvellous intricacy of flourishes he dashes off with his quill a picture of himself mounted on a steed, with a laurel wreath in his hand, dragging a triumphal car, in which is seated a tyro with a pen in his hand, and in front of which is placed a bird of good omen. At this time he was a teacher of the two arts of writing and arithmetic, and in 1661 a warrant was issued to pay Edward Cocker, scrivener and engraver, the sum of £150 as a gift. These private teachers of writing were an important class of extra-academic instruction. So distinctly marked were they as a separate branch of the profession, that a History of Writing-masters was written in 1763 by Mr. William Massey, called "The Origin and Progress of Letters." That the profession was lucrative in some instances, is shown by the fact that one well-known writing-master, flourishing about 1680, made an income of

* These and other early English Writing Books are described by Mr. E. F. Strange in *Bibliographica*, Vol. III.

£800 per annum, "a fine income," adds the historian, "for a writing-master." On the other hand, sixty years earlier Brinsley tells us that some of the scriveners were "shifters" who brought harm to schools. Writing, as a fine art, it may be added, reached its climax in England in the publication of Mr. George Bickham's *Universal Penman* in 1741.

The following is a list of "Copy-Books in quarto," with prices, taken from Robert Clavel's General Catalogue of Books in 1675.

Gething's Re-divivus, price 3*s.*
Cocker's England's Penman, 2*s.* 6*d.*
Hodder's Penman's Recreation, 2*s.*
Cocker's Art's Glory, 2*s.*
Cocker's Penna Volans, 2*s.*
Country Schoolmaster, 1*s.* 6*d.*
Cocker's Magnum in Parvo.
Cocker's Multum in Parvo.
The Country Copy Book.
Davis's Writing Schoolmaster, 1*s.* each.
Billingsley's Pen's Perfection, 9*d.*
Cocker's Copy Book, with new additions, 9*d.*
The Young Lawyer's Writing Master.
Cocker's Youth's Directions to write without a Teacher, 6*d.* each.

Arithmetic.

Writing was thus considered a technical subject, and not by any means regarded as a constituent part of a Grammar School course. So, too, with arithmetic.

Mulcaster, in his *Positions* (1581), treats of instruction before the grammar age, and includes reading, writing, drawing, music, but, I believe, not a word on arithmetic. Brinsley laments that scholars almost ready to go to the University can hardly tell you the number of pages, sections, chapters in their books. They do not know their numbers well enough to use indices or tables. Brinsley then steadily and seriously gives directions for numeration by figures and letters, (*i.e.*, Roman numerals). But if more is required, he says, the teacher must seek the Arithmetic of Robert Record,

i.e., the "Grounds of Arts" or else set his scholars to the Cyphering School. Record's book was published in 1540, and held its own, in various forms, for considerably over one hundred years. Professor de Morgan has traced the history of Arithmetical Books (1847). Mr. W. W. Rouse Ball has written a Short History of Mathematics. These books are excellent, but the student of pædagogy needs to distinguish between school books and the larger treatises. There is little doubt that England and Italy were fifty years ahead of other countries. Thomas Willsford in his Arithmetic, 1656, says, "The Stationers' Shops seem oppressed with Arithmetics," and apologises for publishing his own. Wm. London, in his Catalogue of 1658, includes a considerable number of mathematical books. London was a bookseller, and his long list bears out Willsford's statement. One of the leading teachers of Arithmetic during the Commonwealth was John Kersey. In the Memoirs of the Verney Family we are told that Sir Ralph Verney, in 1655, placed his boy with Kersey—that Kersey willingly undertook to teach him (though very *expensive*), but declined to board or lodge pupils or prepare them for trade. Kersey edited the well-known Arithmetic of Edmund Wingate in 1650.

Charles Hoole, as I have already stated, sent his boys from his Grammar School to the Cyphering School of James Hodder. Thus we see that in the first half of the 17th century, Arithmetic as well as Writing were no fixed or necessary part of the curriculum of a Grammar School.

There thus arose in such schools as that of Hodder, the joining of Writing and Arithmetic teaching outside of the Grammar Schools. Other subjects were added by enterprising teachers of private schools. Eventually private schools arose like that of Noah Bridges, who dates his Arithmetic from his house at Putney, in Surrey, April 25, 1653—"where is taught the Greek and Latin Tongues, also Arts and Sciences Mathematicall, viz.: Arithmetic, Fair Writing, Merchants' Accounts, Geometry, Trigonometry, Algebra, etc." Thus the private schools of the modern type may be said to have developed from the private writing master or scrivener, when instead of being peripatetic, he took up a fixed abode and added other subjects,

naturally first including the subjects not taught in the Grammar School, like Arithmetic, and then growing bolder—entrenching on the domain of the Grammar School by actually, as with Bridges, including Latin and Greek themselves. The private Grammar Schools, *e.g.*, those of Hoole and Thomas Farnaby, built up their course of instruction on Latin and Greek as exclusively as the public schools.

Foreign Languages.

The teaching of French, Italian, Spanish, was by individual private teachers, and I know of no instance in which these were taught in schools in the period of which I am speaking. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that modern languages were an important subject in the following contemplated "Colleges":

1. In 1572.—In Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Queen Elizabeth's Ac(h)ademy —French, Italian and Spanish were proposed to be taught.

2. In 1635.—In Sir Francis Kynaston's proposed Museum Minervæ, the Professor of Languages shall teach these: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, High Dutch.

3. In 1648.—In Sir Balthazar Gerbier's Private Academy at Bethnal Green: French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Low Dutch.

An account of old books for teaching French is given in W. C. Hazlitt's *Schools, School-books and Schoolmasters*, p. 255, *et seqq.*

Drawing.

Sir Thomas Elyot had vigorously urged the acquiring of skill in drawing. Mulcaster, in 1581, in his "Positions," had advocated that the boy should learn to draw with pen or pencil as an "assured rule for the sense to judge by, of the proportion and seemliness of all aspectable things." As to music, Mulcaster says," Our Country doth allow it. It is very comfortable to the wearied mind: a preparation to persuasion that he must needs have a head out of proportion which cannot perceive; or doth not delight in the proportions of number which speak him so fair; that it is best learned in childhood when it can do least harm and may best be had." But I believe it is never

mentioned by either Brinsley or Hoole as a school subject, possibly indeed because both of them were strictly Puritanic in their general tendencies.

With regard to drawing, Peacham gives an interesting account of his own experiences. "Ever naturally from a child," he says, "I have been addicted to the practice hereof; yet when I was young I have been cruelly beaten by ill and ignorant schoolmasters when I have been taking, in white and black, the countenance of some one or other (which I could do at thirteen and fourteen years of age; beside the map of any town according to geometrical proportion, as I did of Cambridge when I was of Trinity College, and a Junior Sophister), yet *they could never beat me out* (Italics mine) of it." Peacham eloquently discourses on the usefulness of drawing and painting, and proudly claims that in ancient times painting "was admitted into the first place among the liberal arts" (Chapter XII, *Compleat Gentleman*, 1622). But Peacham had shown other proof of his devotion to drawing and painting by publishing, as he says himself, "for the benefit of many young gentlemen who were my scholars for the Latin and Greek tongues," a book entitled: *The Art of Drawing with the Pen and Limming in Water Colours*, in 1606, afterwards styled *Graphice, or the Most Ancient and Excellent Art of Drawing and Limming*, and issued in 1612. Peacham was at one time Master of the Free School at Wymondham, in Norfolk.

Religious Instruction.

Religious instruction, both in Brinsley's book in 1612 and in Hoole's in 1660, shows the keenness and intensity of conviction which were the heirlooms of the Reformation. Such conviction was the direct fruit of the Marian Persecution. Brinsley says that religious instruction is "ever generally neglected." The pupil is to be acquainted with the grounds of Religion and the Catechism. All diligence must be used to "whet" the Catechism upon them, "to work holy affections in them." When the scholars go to Church, everyone must learn something of the sermon. That which is learned must be tested. The following plans are suggested by Brinsley for the different forms:

I. The Lowest. These are to bring at least three or four sentences learned by heart. If they cannot make anything of themselves they may ask their fellows. But they can, at least, bring such sentences as occur, *e.g.*, "Without God we can do nothing": "All good gifts are from God." But do not over-load them at the first.

II. Those who "but begin to write with joining hand." These should write, or, at least, get written, five or six or more sentences and "be able to repeat them without book as their other little fellows."

But herein Brinsley shows a certain sense of humour. "There must be great care by the Monitors, that they trouble not their fellows, nor the congregation, in asking notes, or stirring out of their places to seek one another, or any other disorder; but to ask them after they come forth of the Church, and get them written then."

III. For those who have been longer practised herein, to set down— 1. The Text or a part of it. 2. "To make as near as they can, and set down every doctrine, and what proofs they can." They are to give "reasons and uses" wherever able.

IV. "In the highest forms, cause them to set down all the Sermons. As text, division, exposition, or meaning; doctrines, and how the several doctrines were gathered, all the proofs, reasons, uses, applications. I mean all the substance and effect of the Sermons. For learning is not so much seen, in setting down the words, as the substance." The scholars are afterwards to run over it all again, correct it, and set down the sum of every chief head.

Nor is the work yet ended. "You may (if you think good) cause them the next morning, *to translate it into a good Latin style*, instead of their exercise . . . or some little piece of it, according to their ability. Or rather (because of the lack of time, to examine what every one hath written) to see how they are able out of the English to read that which they have written into Latin, extempore, each of them reading his piece in order, and helping others to give better phrase and more variety, for any

difficult word, and so to run through the whole." One boy was to make a repetition of the whole sermon, without book ". . . rehearsing the several parts distinctly and briefly, as the rest attending may the better conceive of the whole, and not exceed the space of a quarter of an hour." Then questions of all things difficult are to be asked by the Master. Next cause "the least and all sorts" to repeat their notes. Brinsley urges that this method will cause an increase in knowledge and understanding, above the master's expectation. "Besides, it will keep them from playing, talking, sleeping, and all other disorders in the church. To this end, therefore, pose diligently all those whom you observe or suspect most negligent, as I have advised; then you will have them to attend heedfully."

Besides this examination of the sermon, Brinsley would have prayer and thanksgiving morning and evening, not necessarily to be taken in the school-time, but by extending the school. Every night, too, the scholar is to go through a "piece of the history of the Bible," as written by Eusebius Pagit.* Finally, with a Latin Testament and an English Testament, daily exercise can be given in translation and re-translation which will teach "Religion and Latine all under one," and be an excellent preparation to learning Greek.

Hoole appears to have adopted Brinsley's directions for taking notes at Sermons and examination after Sermons almost exactly. He suggests that an English chapter of the Scriptures be read in turn by boys morning and evening to the whole school, the lower boys following in English Bibles, higher boys with Latin, and the Septuagint in Greek.

In both Brinsley and Hoole the impulse to the learning of Greek and Hebrew is largely that of reading the New and Old Testaments in the original.

In connection with note-taking both by children and adults, short-hand manuals became an important class of text-books. The Hon. I. E. N. Keith-Falconer, in his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed.) says: "The first impulse to the cultivation of Shorthand may possibly be traced

* *The Historie of the Bible briefly collected, by way of Question and Answer . . . 1613.*

to the Reformation. When the principles of that movement were being promulgated from the pulpit, a desire to preserve the discourses of the preacher naturally suggested the idea of accelerated writing." *

Geography or Cosmographie.

Sir Thomas Elyot in his "Governour" had recommended the study of maps and geography as being particularly interesting. Charles Hoole, in his *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*, advises the collection of maps and plans as part of a school equipment. In Mr. G. F. Russell Barker's memoir of Richard Busby, quotations are given from a diary of a boy under Dr. Busby showing the school-life there, in which it is stated "After supper (in summer time), they were called to the Master's Chamber (specially those of the 7th Form), and there instructed out of Hunter's *Cosmographie*, and practised to describe and find out cities and countries in the mappes." But there hardly seems evidence to show that this practice was at all general in schools.

History.

There cannot be said to have been systematic instruction in History in the first half of the 17th century in the schools. But in the time of Queen Elizabeth the subject received the special mark of an Order in Council for the public reading and teaching of a certain book in all Grammar and Free Schools within the dioceses of all the Bishops of England and Wales. How far this was carried out it is impossible to say, but it raises the work to the select class of authorised books of which Lyly's Latin Grammar is the chief. The following is the title: *Anglorum Praelia. Ab anno Domini 1327 anno nimirum primo inclytissimi Principis Eduardi eius nominis tertii, usque ad annum Domini 1558 carmine summatim perstricta.* It was written by Christopher Ocland, Head Master of the Southwark School, and was published in 1580. It is martial in tone and celebrates English victories, *e.g.*, Crecy and Agincourt. I believe it is not

* For full account of text-books of Shorthand, *see* Dr. Westby Gibson's *Bibliography of Shorthand.*

mentioned in either Brinsley or Hoole. In 1582 it was reprinted, with the author's second poem, *De pacatissimo Angliæ statu imperante Elisabetha*, and in this form went through at least three editions in the year, all, like the first, published by Ralph Neuberie "ex assignatione Henrici Bynneman."

Though History cannot be said to have formed part of the ordinary school course, yet its study at a university stage was beginning to be recognised, and the books on the subject by Degory Wheare and Matthias Prideaux can be instanced as showing its growing importance.*

MUSIC.

Richard Mulcaster, in his "Elementarie" in 1582, included Music as a part of the curriculum of an Elementary School, as I have already stated. But there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to show that this subject in the first half of the seventeenth century continued to be included ordinarily in the School Curriculum. It is, however, worth while to recall that adequate instruction in it is recommended by one schoolmaster, Henry Peacham, as desirable for the *Compleat Gentleman* (1622). Music he describes as amongst the "fountains of our lives' good and happiness, since it is a principal means of glorifying our merciful Creator, it heightens our devotion, it gives delight and ease to our travails, it expelleth sadness and heaviness of spirit, preserveth people in concord and amity, allayeth fierceness and anger, and, lastly, is the best physic for many melancholy diseases."

The way is now clear for proceeding to an account of Grammar School Text-Books. But before passing on I may remark that Hoole, in the section of his book dealing with the Petty School, *i.e.*, before coming to the Grammar School, suggests the "petty" (*i.e.*, petit) child should be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic—the first adumbration, as far as I know, of the curriculum of the modern elementary school—but even he, as we have seen, requires in addition elementary English Literature in the school.

* 1. De Ratione et Methodo Legendi Historias. A lecture at Oxford by Degory Wheare, 1623. This ran to a 3rd ed. in 1637 as Relectiones hiemales de Ratione et Methodo Legendi Historias. It is said in Dict. Nat. Biog. (Art.: Wheare) that it was used as a text-book at Cambridge up to the beginning of the 18th century.

2. An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading all sorts of Histories. By Matthias Prideaux, 1648.

I now come to the teaching of Latin and Greek. The centre of the teaching is undoubtedly the Grammar. I will, therefore, first deal with the Latin Grammar of Lily.

II.—*GRAMMAR.**

Grammar Teaching.

By grammar-teaching was ordinarily meant the teaching of Latin Grammar. This centred round the teaching of the one authorised Grammar, viz., Lily's Grammar.

The Rev. J. H. Lupton, M.A., Senior Master of St. Paul's School, has sketched the history of this Grammar, clearly and concisely, in *Notes and Queries*, VI Series, Vol. II, pp. 441–2, and pp. 461–2.

* There was no specifically English Grammar taught in the schools. However, the following list of English Grammars shows that the subject was recognized in some quarters :—

i. English.
ii. Latin.
iii. Greek.

By William Bullokar:

Bullokar's Book at large for the Amendment of Orthography for English Speech. *London: H. Denham.* 1580. 4to.

A Bref grammar for English or W. Bullokars Abbreviation of his Grammar for English, extracted out of his Grammar at large for the speeding parsing of English speech and the easier coming to the knowledge of other languages. *London: E. Bollifant.* 1586. 12mo.

John Stockwood:

A plaine and easie laying open of the meaning and understanding of the Rules of Construction in the English Accidence, by John Stockwood, sometime Schoolemaster of Tunbridge. *Imprinted at London by the Assignes of Frances Flower.* 1590. 4to. B.L.

John Hewes:

Perfect survey of the English Tongue, taken according to the use and analogy of the Latin. *London: Edw. Allde, for William Garret.* 1624. 4to.

Charles Butler:

The English Grammar. *Oxford: William Turner.* 1633. 4to.

Ben Jonson:

The English Grammar, n.p. 1640. fol.

Joshua Poole:

English Parnassus; or a helpe to English Poesie. *London: T. Johnson.* 1657. 4to.

It is worth noticing that sometimes books with the "English" title, Grammar, or Accidence on their title-page are really Latin Grammar, *e.g.*:

"English Accidence," the short title of Joshua Poole's *English Accidence, London: F. Leach, for Richard Lowndes.* 1655. 4to., is further explained as "or a short and easie way for the more speedy attaining to the Latine Tongue"; and Edward Burles' Grammatica Burlesa, or a New English Grammar, *London, T.N. for H. Moseley*, 1652, 12mo., is simply a Latin Grammar explained in English.

Mr. Lupton divides its history into three parts: (1) from its birth in 1509 until the Royal Proclamation about 1540; (2) from 1540 to the time when the Grammar was appropriated as the Eton Grammar; (3) from that time to the present. The adoption of Lyly's Grammar as the authorized Latin Grammar gave it a position unique amongst English school-books for centuries. It is a cardinal point, about which centres the disputes of the progressive grammarians as against the reactionary and conservative party which swore by Lily. The Proclamation and Address to the Reader may, therefore, be regarded as official documents which for good or evil bound down the recognised teaching of Latin for generations.

King Henry's Proclamation to the edition of about 1540 sets forth that Lily's Grammar* is to be used and "none other," so as to avoid the hindrance caused through the diversity of grammars and teachings. In the address to the Reader, it is further said: "As his majesty purposeth to establish his people in one consent and harmony of pure and true religion: so his tender goodness towards the youth and childhood of his realm intendeth to have it brought up under one absolute and uniform sort of learning. For his majesty considering the great incumbrance and confusion of the young and tender wits, by reason of the diversity of grammar rules and teachings (for heretofore every master had his grammar, and every school diverse teachings, and the changing of masters and schools did many times utterly dull and undo good wits) hath appointed certain learned men, meet for such a purpose to compile one brief, plain and uniform grammar, which onely (all other set apart) for the more speediness and less trouble of young wits, his highness hath commanded all schoolmasters and teachers of grammar within his realms and other his dominions, to teach his scholars."

* It is termed exactly: An Introduction of the eyght partes of speche and the construction of the same, compiled and set forth by the commandement of our most gracious sovereign lorde the King. Anno 1542. (There may have been an earlier edition, but if so, apparently no copy of it is now known.)

The history of Lily's Grammar is somewhat complex. I venture to include in this place the Address of Thomas Hayne, written in 1637, giving his account of the composition of the grammar and its authors, and his own justification for entering into the field of grammarians.

The title-page of Hayne's book is as follows :—

THOMAS HAYNE, 1637.

Grammatices Latinæ Compendium, Anno 1637. E Grammatic. tum veteribus, tum neotericis, summa judicii lima nobilitatis, excerptum et in unum corpus methodo accuratiore et faciliore redactum, et ad tenellæ ætatis captum, conformatum. Here also the most necessary Rules are expressed in English opposite to the Latine, that the one may facilitate and give light to the other.

Artem hanc locupletavit atque illustravit diligentia; sed obscuravit nimia, funditus evertit minima. Lud Viv.

Londini Excusum typis Ed. Griffini, Prostant in Coemiterio D. Pauli ad insigne Solis apud Joh. Rothwel. 1640. (8vo, 144 pp.)

THE ADDRESS IS TO THE JUDICIOUS READER.

"Courteous Reader, in brief consider, what since the time of Henry 7, hath been the singular care of Royal Authority and of worthy learned men, to lay a solid foundation for all kind of Learning by producing a right Grammar institution. For though before his time a great part of our [a]English men had little leisure and less care of good Arts; yet when the Houses of York and Lancaster were united, by the [b]happy counsel of [c]John Morton, Bishop of Ely, and times became more peaceable, John Holt[d] printed and dedicated a brief Grammar called *Lac puerorum* to the same John Morton then deservedly installed Archbishop of Canterbury. About this time also [e]John Stanbridge and Robert Whittington his scholar, and others put forth divers Treatises of Grammar. But more especially [f]Dr. Colet the Reverend and learned Dean of Paul's compiled the *Introduction to the Eight Parts of Speech;* and Mr. Lilie first Schoolmaster of Paul's, an *English Syntax.* Whereunto Cardinal Wolsey[g] afterward prefixed an Epistle and directions for teaching the 8 classes or forms in

(*a*) So of the German Princes and People. Eras. Epist. p. 989.
(*b*) Hollinsh. Stowe.
(*c*) A man of singular learning, wisdom, and fidelity.
(*d*) About the year 1497.
(*e*) About the year 1505.
(*f*) Anno 1509. A man studious to advance learning and a great benefactor thereunto.
(*g*) An. 1528.

Ipswich School. Erasmus also[h] intreated by Dr. Colet to revise Mr. Lilie's *Syntax*, made[i] a new *Latin Syntax*, upon which [k]Henry Prime, Schoolmaster of the Monastery, and [l]Leonard Cox, of Carleon in Wales, commented. Also[m] Thomas Linaker and Ludov. Vives wrote *Rudimenta Grammaticæ* for Queen Mary's use; and Linaker his book *De Emendata Scriptura, &c.*, which hath ever since been the Cynosura for many of our best Grammarians. Mr. Lilie wrote also (*Propria quæ maribus*), and (*As in præsenti*): which [n]Mr. Ritwise one of his successors published *cum vocabulorum interpretatione.* Thomas Robertson a schoolmaster in Oxford printed[o] a Comment on the Rules, which Lilie wrote in verse: and added thereunto (*Quæ genus*) and the *Versifying Rules.* From the variety of pains in Grammar sprang a great diversity in the course of teaching: which K. Henry 8, intending[p] to reform, caused sundry learned men (among whom, as I have heard, was [q]Dr. Richard Cox, Tutor to K. Edward the Sixth) to reduce the former attempts in this kind into one body of Grammar. They jointly[r] produced the Grammar now in use, and first authorised by K. Henry the Eighth. Yet it may seem that this Grammar was thought too prolix; for afterward in K. Edward the 6, his time Mr. John Fox[s] set forth Tables of Grammar, subscribed in print by 8 Lords of the Privy Council. But these Tables were quickly laid aside, as being far more too short, than King Henry's Grammar was too long. Since then many learned men in England, far more abroad, have spent much profitable study on this Art, and the Method thereof. Out of all which attempts, if I can make a* good election for the matter, and rightly and clearly dispose of their rules for the method, I may hope (good Reader) in this present task to give you convenient satisfaction. For the attaining of this end, my case hath been first, to frame[t] so clear and distinct a *Compendium*, as may not be *temporis dispendium*, nor frustrate the pains of such as use it; but in competent manner fit them for reading good authors, and inditing[u] something of themselves. Secondly, I have endeavoured to follow a right and plain method because that[a] maketh all learning more portable; and thirdly I have shunned divers curiosities and niceties, and abandoned

(*h*) Erasm. his Preface.
(*i*) An. 1513.
(*k*) An. 1539.
(*l*) An. 1540. He taught the tongues in Polon. Hung. Germany.
(*m*) About the year 1522, at Q. Katherine's request.
(*n*) An. 1535, if not before.
(*o*) An. 1532. This is dedicated to John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, with reference to Henley School.
(*p*) Preface to the Grammar An. 1546.
(*q*) A worthy learned man sometimes Schoolmaster of Eton: after that Dean of Westminster, and Bishop of Ely.
(*r*) An. 1545.
(*s*) An. 1551.
(*) For *nihil fere jam dici potest in re Grammatica, quod non sit dictum prius.*
(*t*) Vt *percipiant animi dociles teneantque fideles.*
(*u*) As far as the sphere of Grammar reacheth.
(*a*) The L. Verul. Advanc. of Learn.

some needless terms of Art and [b]ambiguous expressions: because these cumber, and in no wise expedite the course of learners: and are more hard for children, than the knowledge of things themselves. In a word, what my perusing former writers, what my many years' practice[c] in 2 schools of very good note in London, what my conference with men much versed in this way have enabled me unto, I here contract and publish, to further the common good."

(*b*) These made one wish that things themselves could speak, *Is Eurypid. Hippolyt.*

(*c*) In the City's School in Christ's Hospital, where are commonly 300 Scholars under 6 teachers, and in the Merchant Taylors' School, where are taught 250 Scholars by a Chief Master and 3 ushers.

Further references to the history of Lily's Grammar may be found in John Twell's Preface to his Grammatica Reformata (1683) and to Dr. J. H. Lupton's article on Wm. Lily, and on John Ward (Dict. Nat. Biog.). The full title of Twell's book is worth quoting:—*Grammatica Reformata, or a general examination of the Art of Grammar, as it hath been successively delivered by F. Sanctius in Spain, G. Scioppius in France, G. J. Vossius in the Lower Germany, and methodised by the Oxford Grammarian in his observations upon Lily. Designed for the lower Forms in the Free School at Newark-upon-Trent.* Perhaps it should be added that the most incisive and at the same time comprehensive attack on Lily's Grammar was contained in the *Grammatical Commentaries; being an Apparatus to a new National Grammar, by way of Animadversion upon the Falsities, Obscurities, Redundancies and defects of Lilly's System now in use; in which also are noticed many Errors of the most eminent Grammarians, both ancient and modern.* This was written in 1706 by Richard Johnson, Master of the Free School at Nottingham.

The grounds for keeping Lily's Grammar in use are sufficiently clearly stated by the writers I proceed to quote. Hoole and Walker, however, do not hesitate to write manuals to serve as complementary to Lily should that grammar be retained.

Charles Hoole (1660) argues in favour of retaining Lily's Grammar in use. He points out that if children are to change their grammar as often as they change their masters "they will be like those that run from room to room in a labyrinth." It is desirable for preparing for exhibitions and

scholarships—and in all cases where a general test will be applied—though doubtless, he admits, great proficiency may be attained by means of other grammars.

Marchamont Nedham,* writing in 1663, says: "They do almost in all countries entertain the same Grammar, and go by a certain rule of teaching; Despauter obtains in France, Alvarez in Spain, and all England over heretofore Lilly and Camden† were in the hands of youth. And, indeed, there is the same reason for uniformity in school as in church, the variety of Methods (supposing they were all severally in themselves very good) doing very much mischief, by not only distracting young heads, and discouraging them, and putting them back upon their removes to new Masters; but also making a fundamental difference in their course as they proceed to other courses."

The uniformity of use of Lily's Grammar was thus supported by the King's authority. This was something more than nominal, in that the Bishops, who had the licensing of teachers in their hands, enquired at their visitations whether schoolmasters in their dioceses used any other.‡ William Walker, the writer of the famous school-book on the "Particles,"§ in his Preface, puts the case very well:—"Having observed whilst I was Schoolmaster for many years in Louth, new Grammars ever and anon coming forth, I concluded somewhat was amiss in the *old*, for why else should the learned Authors of them spend their pains in compositions of *new*?

And this occasioned my considering of, and comparing the old and the new together; the result of which consideration and comparison was this,

* In a *Discourse Concerning Schools and Schoolmasters.*

† Head of Westminster School—wrote the standard school Greek Grammar.

‡ John Ward, in his Preface to *A Short Introduction of Grammar, i.e.* Lily's, in 1732, quotes articles of enquiry on this point in 1559, and by Bishop Juxon in 1640.

§ A *Treatise of English Particles; shewing much of the variety of their significations and uses in English, and how to render them into Latin.* As this book is mentioned by Hoole, it must have been written before 1660, but the earliest edition in the British Museum Library is that of 1663.

a conclusion that any of them would serve to do the business they were framed for, but none of them would do it so much better, as that there was any necessity to lay by the old to give place to any new. And in as much as the change of Grammars was of evil consequence to learners, therefore I concluded that though some few in those days* (of liberty, shall I say, or rather licentiousness) might take a fancy privately to teach some *new Grammar;* yet generally teachers would in public Schools make use of the *old*, unless Authority should impose some new one, which I could not imagine it would do without more necessity than any I saw. And to make it still less necessary, either to make a change of the old, or to allow or connive at diversity of new ones (the mischief of which, when tolerated, hath been found to be so great both here and in other countries, that Authority both at home and abroad hath thought good to interpose in the case, and establish *one only Grammar* to be read in their Dominions, and forbid the Teaching of any other), I have thought good, after much deliberation with myself and some of my learned friends, to set my hand to explain the Obscurities, to rectify the Mistakes, and to supply the Defects pretended to be in the old Grammar, which done, there could remain no necessity nor very great reason that I could imagine to bring us back again into that confusion and distraction by diversity of Grammars; for the removal of which the Authority of this Nation had, upon mature deliberation, established *this* to be *the only Grammar* that should be learned in all the Schools of *England*." Walker intimates that he has had the task "under consideration" well-nigh twenty years. His book certainly shows enormous labour in supplementing Lily's Grammar.

The Diversity of Grammars.

In a *Grammar of the Latin Tongue*, written by Solomon Lowe in 1726, there are enumerated no less than 186 writers of Latin Grammars which either were or had been in use in England. So that Lily's Grammar, promulgated by the King's authority, and supported by the ecclesiastical

* Presumably of the Commonwealth.

sanction of Bishops, was unable to maintain its monopoly in face of grammatical and pedagogical developments, notwithstanding the arguments produced by such men as Hoole, Nedham and Walker. It is true that many of the Grammars were but explanations of Lily, adapting themselves better, as Hoole is never tired of saying, "to the capacities of children." The following are some of the more prominent Grammars in use in the period 1600–1660:

1600. R. Knowles.

Grammaticæ Latinæ, Græcæ et Hebraicæ Compendium.

1612. Alex. Hume.

Grammatica nova in usum juventutis Scoticæ. *Edinburgi, Excudebat Thomas Finlason*, 1612. 8°.

1616. T. Granger.

Syntagma Grammaticum, or An easie, and methodicall explanation of Lillie's Grammar . . . By Thomas Granger Maister of Arts, Pet. Coll. Cant. *London. Printed by Thomas Dawson*, 1616. 8°. B.L.

1624. John Hewes.

Perfect survey of the English Tongue. See *supra*, p. 181.

1625.

Animadversions upon Lillie's Grammar, or Lilly Scanned . . . set downe by way of Question and Answere. *London. Printed by W. Stansby for Richard Hawkins* . . . 1625. 8°.

1631. John Danes.

A Light to Lillie, or the better Teaching and Learning of the Latin Tongue.

1634. Christopher Syms.

An introduction to, or the art of teaching the Latine Speach . . . Invented, practised and proved by the Author, Christopher Syms. *Dublin. Printed by the Society of Stationers*, 1634. 4°. B.L.

1637. Thomas Hayne.

Grammatices Latinæ Compendium, Anno 1637 . . . *Londini, Excusum typis Ed. Griffini, Prostant in cæmeterio D. Pauli ad insigne Solis apud Joh. Rothwel*, 1640. 8°.

1642. Wm. Haine.

Lilie's Rules construed.

1649. Charles Hoole.

Aditus facilis ad Linguam Latinam: (An easie entrance to the Latine Tongue). *London. Printed by William Du-gard for Joshuah Kirton*, 1649. . . 8°.

1649. James Shirley (the Dramatist).

Via ad Latinam Linguam Complanata. The Way made plain to the Latine Tongue. The Rules composed in English and Latine verse: For the greater Delight and Benefit of Learners. By James Shirley. *London. Printed by R. W. for John Stevenson, at the signe of the Sun on Ludgate Hill.* 1649. 8°.

165–. Wm. Dugard.

The English rudiments of the Latin Tongue, explained by question and answer . . . By William Du-Gard. For the use of Marchant Tailors' School. *London: Printed by W. D. and are to bee sold by Francis Eglesfield at the Marigold in Paul's Church-yard.* An. Do. 1656.

1657. Edmund Reeve.

The Rules of the Latine Grammar construed. Which were omitted in the book called Lillies Rules, and the Syntaxis construed. *London, Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the Prince's Armes in St. Pauls Church-yard.* 1657. 4°.

1659. Bassett Jones.

Herm'aelogium; or an essay at the rationality of the Art of Speaking. As a supplement to Lillie's Grammar . . . Offered by B. J. *London, Printed by R. W. for T. Bassett, in St. Dunstan-Church-yard in Fleet Street.* 1659. 8°.

1659. Richard Busby.

An English introduction to the Latin Tongue.

1659. Charles Hoole.

The Rudiments of the Latin Grammar usually taught in all Schools. Delivered in a very plain method for young beginners. *London, Printed by T. Mabb for John Clarke, jun., and are to be sold at his Shop at the entring in of Mercers Chappel.* 1659. 8°.

1660. Joseph Brooksbank.

A Breviate of our Kings whole Latin Grammar vulgarly called, Lillies. *London, Printed by W. H. for Richard Thrale at the Cross Keyes at Pauls Gate.* n.d. 8°. B.L.

1660. Priscianus.

Priscianus nascens or A Key to the Grammar School. Serving much to the exposition of the Grammatical Rules of Lilly and the more easie and certain Translating of English into Latine. *London, Printed for William Garret, and are to be sold by Timothy Garthwaite.* 1660. 8°.

The Grammars mentioned by Hoole as supplementing *Lily*, are:

In Form I.

Orbis Pictus;* The Common Rudiments of Latin Grammar.

Form II.

Propria quæ maribus, etc. Englished and Explained.

An Easie Entrance to the Latin Tongue by C. H. [See above, p. 189.]

* Joh. Amos Comenii Orbis Sensualium Pictus: Hoc est Omnium fundamentalium in Mundo Rerum, et in Vita Actionum, Pictura et Nomenclatura. Joh. Amos Comenius's Visible World: or A Picture and Nomenclature of all the Chief Things that are in the World and of Men's Employments therein; A Work newly written by the Author in Latin and High Dutch (being one of his last Essays; and the most suitable to Children's Capacities of any he hath hitherto made). Translated into English by Charles Hoole, Teacher of a Private Grammar School in Lothbury, London. For the use of young Latine Scholars. Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuit in sensu. Arist. *London, Printed for J. Kirton, at the King's Arms, in Saint Paules Church-yard*, 1659. A work most important for the second half of seventeenth century School Method. [Charles Hoole wrote a Preface of 8 pages, which clearly shows the effect of Bacon's influence on his ideas of school-method and studies.]

FORM III.

Stockwood's Figura construed.
Hampton's Prosodia construed.

FORM IV.

The Latin Grammar, by C. H.
The Posing of the Accidence.
Animadversions upon Lilie's Grammar.
Stockwood's Disputations.
Mr. Poole's English Accidence.
Hermes Anglo-Latinus.
Supplementa ad Grammaticam.
Mr. Bird's, Mr. Shirley's, Mr. Burles', Mr. Hawkins', Mr. Gregorie's, Mr. Danes', Mr. Farnaby's } Grammars.

And Authores Grammatici antiqui.

Despaterius.
Linacer.
Melanchthon.
Valerius.
Alvarez.
Ramus.
Sulpitius.
Vossius.

GREEK GRAMMARS.

The Greek Grammar of William Camden was to Greek what Lily's Grammar was to Latin. It was published in 1597 for the use of Westminster School—*Institutio Græcæ Grammatices Compendiaria*, based

upon the *Græcæ Linguæ Spiciligium* of Edward Grant, his predecessor in the Head Mastership of Westminster School.

Amongst Greek Grammars used in England—1600–1660—were :

1600. Richard Knowles.
(See List of Latin Grammars).

1620. Eilhard Lubinus. Clavis Linguæ Græcæ.

1629. John Prideaux.
Tabulæ ad Grammatica Græcæ Introductoriæ.

1626. Antony Laubegeois.
Græcæ Linguæ Epitome.

n.d. Thomas Farnaby.
Tabulæ Græcae Linguæ.

Richard Busby's famous Westminster Græcæ Grammaticæ Rudimenta was not published till 1663.

Hoole's list of Greek Grammars is as follows :

FORM IV.—Camden's Grammatica.

FORM V.—Camden's Grammatica, and as supplementary :

Busbæi
Cleonardi
Scoti
Chrysoloræ
Ceporini
Gazæ
Urbanii
Caninii
Gretseri
} Grammatica.

The following headings of the Chapters on the school-work of the Forms show the aims of the classical teaching. I shall simply quote these, and then select for treatment and illustration certain portions of the school-work which have fallen into disuse, or at least, altered in scope.

Hoole gives directions in :

FORM I.—How to teach children in the First Form, the Grounds or Rudiments of Grammar contained in the Accidence, and to prepare them for the Latin tongue with ease and delight.

FORM II.—How to make children of the Second Form perfect in the Rules of the Gender of Nouns, and of the Preterperfect tenses and Supines of Verbs, contained in *Propria quæ maribus*, *Quæ genus*, and as in Præsenti ; and how to enter them in writing, and speaking familiar and congruous Latin.

FORM III.—How to make children in the Third Form perfect in the Latin Syntaxis, commonly called Verbum Personale ; as also to acquaint them with Prosodia ; and how to help them to construe and parse, and to write, and speak true and elegant Latin.

FORM IV.—How to make the scholars of the Fourth Form very perfect in the Art of Grammar and Elements of Rhetoric ; and how to enter them upon Greek in an easy way. How to practise them (as they read Terence and Ovid *de Tristibus*, and his *Metamorphoses*, and *Janua Latinæ Linguæ*, *i.e.*, by John Amos Comenius, and Sturmius, and Textor's epistles) in getting copy [copia] of words, and learning their Derivations and Differences, and in varying phrases. How to show them the right way of double translating, and writing a most pure Latin style. How to acquaint them with all sorts of English and Latin verses, and to enable them to write familiar and elegant epistles either in English or Latin, upon all occasions.

FORM V.—How to teach scholars in the Fifth Form to keep and improve the Latin and Greek Grammars and Rhetoric. How to acquaint them with an oratory, style and pronunciation. How to help them to translate Latin into Greek, and to make Greek verses, as they read Isocrates and Theognis. How they may profit well in reading Virgil, and easily learn to make good themes and elegant verses with delight and certainty. And what catechisms they may learn in Greek.

FORM VI.—How to enter the Scholars of the Sixth Form into Hebrew; How to employ them in reading the best and most difficult Authors in Latin and Greek, and how to acquaint them with all manner of School-Exercises, Latin, Greek or Hebrew.

As Lily is the standard Grammar for Latin, Camden for Greek, so Hoole regards Buxtorf's *Epitome*, as the text-book for Hebrew Grammar, though it should be supplemented by others.

It is worthy of note that in Hoole's curriculum of classical instructions that in Form II the pupil is to be prepared not only to write but to *speak* Latin.* The book especially to help in this part of the work, which Hoole recommends, is Corderius's *Colloquies*. In the next Form this is followed by Castalion's *Dialogues* and Helvicus's *Colloquies*.† For Greek-speaking, Hoole suggests the use of Posselius's Dialogues or Mr. Shirley's Introductorium.

Another point of interest in Hoole's Curriculum is the presence of Rhetoric as a study. It was one of the old Seven Liberal Arts. Hoole regards it as the natural sequence to colloquial Latin, for Rhetoric is the Art of Fine Speaking.

For this subject are to be used:

Wm. Dugard's Elementa Rhetorices.

Chas. Butler's Rhetoric.

Thos. Farnaby's Index Rhetoricus.

Susenbrotus.

T. Horne's Compendium Rhetorices.

And for more advanced pupils:

Vossius's Partitiones Oratoriæ.

Orator Extemporaneus.

Tesmari Exercitationes Rhetoricæ.

Nic. Caussinus.

Paiot: de Eloquentia.

* Hoole says: "Speaking Latin is the main end of Grammar."

† These, as Hoole notes, are selected out of the Colloquies of Erasmus, Vivès, and Schottenius.

The other parts of Hoole which present a curriculum different essentially from that of the greater Grammar Schools of later days, seem to be founded upon the desire to bring pupils to the power of using Latin as a medium of communication either for writing or for speaking. I shall not, therefore, enter into any account of the teaching of translation of ancient authors further than to name the ancient authors put down by Hoole for the various Forms.

These are:

FORM I.
None.

FORM II.
The Latin Testament.
Cato's Distichs.

FORM III.
Æsop's Fables.
Mantuan.

FORM IV.
Latin Testament.
Greek Testament.
Terentius.
Ovid de Tristibus.
Metamorphosis.

FORM V.
Aphthonius.
Livii Orationes.
Isocrates.
Theognis.
Justinus.
Caesaris Commentarii.
Lucius Florus.
Virgilius.

FORM V.
Æliani Historiæ Variæ.
Epictetus.

FORM VI.
Greek Testament.
Psalterium Hebraicum.
Homer.
Pindar.
Lycophron.
Xenophon.
Euripides.
Sophocles.
Aristophanes.
Horace.
Juvenal.
Persius.
Lucanus.
Senecæ Tragœdiæ.
Martial.
Plautus.
Luciani Selecti Dialogi.
Tullii Orationes.
Plinii Panegyricus.
Quintiliani Declamationes.

III.—*LETTER WRITING.*

Pupils having acquired a sound knowledge of Grammar, and having had, and still continuing constant exercise in translation and re-translation, it became the duty of the Schoolmaster to see them well drilled in what may be called Imitation of classical models. By Imitation is not meant merely transcribing, though it is to be feared that exercises often degenerated into something approaching transcription, but the adaptation of classical phrases and diction to the expression of the thought and opinion of pupils on all sorts of subjects. In other words, the pupil was to compose as originally as possible in an ancient language, in which the only possible authorities could be the written works extant of the classical writers.

Of course, Cicero and Terence were the first models. But by the time of Hoole it was recognised that Imitation must not be taken to mean mere slavish adherence to the words of even Cicero, but that the Ciceronian *spirit* must be cultivated, and the *matter of composition* must be such as to appeal, as far as possible, to the capacities of the pupils. Accordingly, to both Brinsley and Hoole letter-writing seemed a very suitable introduction to more sustained prose composition—partly, probably, because a good deal of the form was constant, *e.g.*, in the beginning and ending of the epistle—certain phrases might occur fairly frequently, and the general construction of a letter was fairly easily understood.

Charles Hoole suggests that Letter-writing should be done in the Fourth Form on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the afternoons. The text-book should be Sturm's editions of Cicero's Letters, or as an alternative, the edition in use at Westminster School. The Epistles of John Ravisius Textor also might be used. The method is to be that of double translation. The acquiring of style is a difficult matter, so that Hoole translated a Century of Select Epistles from Tully and other choice authors, "making the English answer to the Latin, period by period. And these I cause them to write over, and in so doing, to take notice of the placing of every word,

and its manner of signification." Then they were to write down the English and Latin together. Afterwards they wrote the English translation by itself, and ten days afterwards they were to try to turn it back again into good Latin. Then followed the attempt to vary the matter of the models, so as to give freedom and resource in composition.

In all the composition, however, Hoole insists that the boys are never to utter or write any words or phrases which they have not read or heard used in the same sense—further that familiar expressions used in writing letters be collected and noted in a paper-book. Each pupil would then construct a book after the model of Fabritius' *Elegantiæ pueriles*. Variety of expression should be aimed at, and as many instances as possible of idiomatic Latin should find their way to the paper-book, particularly multiplying the alternatives for English phrases.

Hoole gives a complete Summary of the method of teaching Letter-writing.

"1. Ask one of your boys, to whom, and for what he is minded to write a letter; and according as he shall return you an answer, give him some general instructions how to do it.

"2. Then bid him and all his fellows let you see which of them can best indite an English letter upon that occasion, and in how short a time.

"3. Let them every one bring his own letter fairly written that you may show them how to amend the imperfections you find in it.

"4. Take his that hath done the best, and let every one give you an expression of his own, gathering from every word and phrase that is in it, and let it be different (if it may be) from that which another hath given already before him.

"5. As they give in their expressions, do you, or an able scholar for you, write them all down on a paper, making a note that directeth to the place to which they belong.

"6. Then deliver them the paper and let every one take such words or phrase, as is most agreeable to the composition of an epistolatory style (so

that he take not the same that another useth), and bring the letter writ fair, and turned out of English into Latin. And thus you shall find the same epistle varied so many several ways, that every boy will seem to have an epistle of his own, and quite differing in words from all those of his fellows, though the matter be one and the same."

Hoole points out that for good letter-writing there must be the frequent perusal of good models. He urges that boys should be encouraged to read Tully's Epistles, and further, Pliny, Seneca, Erasmus, Lipsius, Manutius, Ascham and Politian, and such others as they can come across, so long as they are really good Latinists.*

The Fourth Form should for practice, write on their own account, two epistles a week, one in answer to the other. These are to be shown "fair" on Saturdays. They are not to exceed a quarter of a sheet or side, so as to secure thoroughness.

"And let this rule be observed in performing these and all manner of exercises; that they never go about a new one till they have finished that they began. It were better for scholars sometimes to do one and the same exercise twice or thrice over again, that in it they may see and correct their own errors, and strive to outdo themselves, than leaving that in their hands incomplete, to get an ill-habit of hasting over work to little or no purpose. Non quam multum sed quam bene should be remembered in scholars' exercises."

The books which Hoole recommends for the method of letter-writing are Mr. Clarke's *Epistolographia;* Erasmus' *de conscribendis Epistolis;* John Buchler's *Thesaurus conscribendarum Epistolarum;* Simon Verepaeus' *de conscribendis Epistolis.*

It will be necessary to ward off the young letter-writer from "Barbarisms and Anglicisms," and for this purpose he should make use of a *Little*

* When Hoole draws up a list of subsidiary books for his Sixth Form to have at hand he includes the following:—

Epistolæ: Tullii, Plinii, Senecae, Erasmi, Lipsii, Manutii, Aschami, Politiani, Turneri, Symmachi.

Dictionary English and Latin (*i.e.* by John Withals), Mr. Walker's *Book of Particles*, lately printed. Also Mr. Willis's *Anglicisms Latinised*, and Mr. Clarke's *Phraseologia Puerilis*. Tusselinus or Doctor Hawkins' *Particulæ Latinæ orationis* are also to be consulted.

Brinsley had treated the subject of Letter-writing in the *Ludus Literarius*, 1612. Spondeus explains to Philoponus the school method he had adopted in teaching. "I have done this: I have read them some of Tully's epistles and some part of Macropedius or Hegendorphinus *de Conscribendis Epistoles.** I have directed them that they are to follow the rules set down in the several kinds of Epistles there mentioned, and made the examples plain unto them, Moreover, I have used to put them in mind of this, that an epistle is nothing but a letter sent to a friend, to certify him of some matter, or to signify our mind plainly and fully unto him. And, therefore, look how we would write in English, so to do in Latin. These and the like are the helps which I have used; and I take them to be the most that are done in ordinary schools."

Brinsley explicitly states that he has not exercised his pupils in inditing Letters in English. "Neither have I known them to be used in schools; although they cannot but be exceeding necessary for scholars; being of perpetual use in all our whole life."

The great bibliophile, D. G. Morhof, published a comprehensive book on Letter-writers and Letter-writing, entitled *De ratione Conscribendarum Epistolarum Libellus; quo de artis epistolicæ scriptoribus, tum veteribus quam recentioribus judicia feruntur, et de epistolarum usu, charactere, numero, periodis, locis communibus, imitatione et cura titulorum agitur, epistolarumque varii generis exempla continentur.* The edition of 1716

* *Georgii Macropedius.* Methodus de Conscribendis Epistolis, et Epitome Præceptionum de Paranda Copia Verborum et Rerum, item de IX. speciebus Argumentationum Rhetoricarum. Lond. 1580.

Christopher Hegendorphinus. Epistolas Conscribendi Methodus. The books of Macropedius and Hegendorphinus on this subject were published together in London in 1595.

issued at Lubeck of this book has further on its title-page: *Recensuit, emendavit, novisque accessionibus, adnotamentis, et exemplarum libro tertio, duplicique auctorum et rerum indice locupletissimo adauxit Io. Burchardus Maius.*

The subjects mentioned in the title are treated in separate chapters, and each chapter has a set of annotations. Then very copious examples of different kinds of letters are given. Chapter III is entirely devoted to those who have written *on the Art and method of composing Epistles.* The list includes Demetrius Phalereus, Gregory Nazianzen, John Altenstaig, Raphael Brandolinus, Conrad Celtes, Ludovicus Vives, Erasmus Roterodamus, Melchior Junius, Lipsius, Johannes Voellus, Johannes Simonius, George Fabricius, Christopher Hegendorphinus, George Macropedius, John Mulinus, Simon Verepaeus, Jodocus Jungmann, George Heunischius, John Henry Alsted, Bartholomew Keckermann, Henry Bebelius, Rocchius Pilorcius, Thomas Sagittarius, Timplerus. And whosoever, adds Morhof, desires more names, let him have recourse to the *Bibliothecas* of Conrad Gesner and George Drandius—not to mention other books.

John Clarke, in his *Formulae Oratoriæ*, which I shall describe at more length later on, treats of (I) Letter-writing, (II) Themes, (III) Declamations.

I give the following summary of Clarke's "Method." (Clarke's book is throughout in Latin.) To the boy desirous of eloquence he thinks it will not be useless:

1. That he should propose to himself a Method in composing letters, themes, declamations, etc.

2. That he should apply certain Formulæ. As far as relates to letter-writing there will be found in this little book succinct rules necessary for the letter-writer. The kind of letter may be in a three-fold sort of category, viz.: demonstrative, deliberative, judicial. In the demonstrative class are placed:—(1) Narrative or Descriptive. (2) Letters of Lamentation. (3) Grateful letters. (4) Gratulatory letters. (5) Official letters. (6) Disputatorial letters. (7) Laudatory letters. (8) Deprecatory letters.

In the deliberative class are:—(1) Persuasive and discursive letters. (2) Hortatory and dehortatory letters. (3) Letters of Petition. (4) Commendatory letters. (5) Letters of Condolence. (6) Answers to letters of Condolence. (7) Monitory letters. (8) Epistolæ Convitiatoriæ. (9) Reconciliatory letters. (10) Conciliatory letters.

In the judicial class occur:—(1) Criminatory letters. (2) Defensory letters. (3) Expostulatory letters. (4) Epistolæ Exprobratoriæ. (5) Exculpating letters. (6) Excusing letters.*

3. In Themes, the method is according to the most usual divisions. (1) Exordium. (2) Propositio or Narratio. (3) Confirmatio. (4) Confutatio. (5) Conclusio.

4. In declamations the method is just the same as with the aforesaid themes, varied merely according to the circumstances.

Method is required in all these; so too these Formulæ are not to be despised until the pupil can swim without cork, and being strengthened by experience, with the strength of his feet in the one case, so with strength of his wit in the other he may come to land.

Amongst Formulæ some have regard to the Context—others to the matter.

1. The Context, in letters, themes and declamations, separately one by one and all taken together in common Formulæ as applied to letters.

1. Salutandi. 2. Compellandi. 3. Vale-dicendi. 4. Subscribendi. 5. Dandi.

Brinsley and Hoole, of course, deal with epistle-writing as a method of improving the knowledge of Latin. But, eventually, letter-writing was looked upon as an end in itself in the vernacular.

The most thorough going text-book on Letter Writing in English, perhaps in any language of the time, was that of Angel Day, entitled:

* For assistance in learning to write letters, Hoole recommends the Epistolographia of Mr. Clarke, contained in the *Formulae Orationis*.

The English Secretarie.—Wherein is contained a perfect method for the inditing of all manner of Epistles and familiar Letters, together with their diversities, enlarged by examples under their severall Tytles. In which is layd forth a Path-waye, so apt, plainer and easier, to any learner's capacity, as like whereof hath not at any time heretofore beene delivered. Now first devized and newly published by Angel Daye. Altior fortuno Virtus, *R. Waldegrave . . . solde by R. Jones, London.* 1586. 4°.

This book, of course, can hardly be shown to have been a school text-book, but educationally it has its significance, for it went through a large number of editions at any rate up to 1635, when it appeared with the title as follows:

The English Secretarie, or Methode of Writing of Epistles and Letters; with a Declaration of such Tropes, Figures, and Schemes as either usually or for ornament sake are therein required. Also the Parts and office of a Secretarie. Divided into two books. By Angel Day. *W. Stansby, London.* 1635. 8°.

The latter edition contains 31 pages of introductory matter on the commodity and usefulness of letter-writing, on what is chiefly to be respected in framing an epistle, of the habit and parts of an epistle, of the divisions generally incident to all manner of epistles, of divers orders of greetings, farewells and subscriptions, of superscriptions and directions.

Angel Day's divisions of letters are as follows:

The first part consists of Letters *descriptory.*

Epistles: laudatory, vituperatory, deliberative, exhortatory, hortatory, suasory, dehortatory, dissuasory, conciliatory, reconciliatory, petitory, commendatory, consolatory, monitory, reprehensory, amatory, judicial.

The second part of letters judicial, viz.:

Epistles: accusatory, excusatory, purgatory, defensory, expostulatory, exprobratory, invective, comminatory, deprecatory.

Epistles: Familiar—Nunciatory, narratory, remuneratory, gratulatory, objurgatory, mandatory.

The 1635 edition of Day's book introduces an account of Rhetorical Figures, Tropes and Schemes. Pages 391–441 are occupied with a disquisition: "Of the Parts, Place and Office of a Secretary." This portion of the 1635 book is not in the original edition of 1586. It deals with the mental and moral characteristics to be looked for in a good secretary, particularly insisting on his loyalty and trustworthiness in all matters. He must be suitably equipped by education, by conversation and order of living, and by sufficiency, skill, knowledge and ability. He must be of honest family, and of good shape and countenance. He ought to be well studied in the Latin tongue, to be sufficiently read in Histories and Antiquities, and above all things be ready and apt so as to be able to judge of the humours, behaviours and dispositions of man.

This promotion of the work of the secretary into something of a profession is an interesting evolution from the earlier pursuit of letter-writing. It is a case of specialism in learning—taken from the classical field in the first instance—as we see in the School Exercise of Writing Latin Epistles, and gradually differentiated for practical purposes, until it becomes the basis of the secretarial profession, as developed in the later edition of Angel Day's *English Secretary*.

Amongst other books on letter-writing in English were:

1576. Abraham Fleming.

A Panoplie of epistles. Or, a looking glasse for the unlearned. Conteyning a perfecte plattform of inditing letters of all sorts, to persons of all estates and degrees, as well our superiors, as also our equals and inferiours: used of the best and the eloquentest Rhetoricians that have lived in all ages, and have been famous in that facultie. B.L. Imprinted for R. Newberie, London. 1576. 4°.

This is an interesting collection of letters selected from classical and renascence writers, and translated into English. The matter of the letters is chosen with considerable care. For instance the letter (of considerable length) of John Ludovicus Vivès contains an account by Vivès of various letter-writers, and his estimation of their worth, and of their characteristics.

The extracts are preceded by an Epitome of Precepts whereby the ignorant may learn to indite, according to skill and order, reduced into a dialogue between the masters and scholar.

The sorts of epistles of which Fleming claims to give examples are as follows:

Epistles: exhortatory, accusatory, commendatory, excusatory, congratulatory, responsory, consolatory, jocatory, nunciatory, criminatory, lamentatory, mandatory, dehortatory, objurgatory, petitory, comminatory, expostulatory, amatory, conciliatory, laudatory, intercessory.

Of less representativeness in quotations from good writers and much smaller is the following book:

1586. William Fulwood.

The Enimie of Idlenesse: Teaching a perfect platforme how to indite Epistles and Letters of all sortes: as well by answers as otherwise: no less profitable than pleasant. H. Midleton, London. 1586. 8°.

This contains instructions for the inditing of epistles and letters with their examples—all, of course, in English. Letters are given as models for all kinds of occasions, *e.g.*, to excuse oneself for being negligent in writing, to require aid at one's friend's hand in time of poverty, to express gratitude for a benefit, and a letter for the lover writing to his lady, and the answer of his lady.

Another of these books, a translation from the French, sufficiently explained by its title, is:

The Secretary in Fashion, or An Elegant and Compendious way of Writing all manner of Letters. Composed in French by S^r [Jean Puget] de la Serre, Chief Historiographer to the King of France.

This was translated into English by J. Massinger in 1640—and reached a fifth edition in 1673.

There were other collections of Model Letters for different occasions, but scarcely of the standing of Angel Day, Abraham Fleming, and William Fulwood.

IV.—*RHETORIC AND THEMES.*

Though letter-writing is of sufficient importance to justify Hoole, as we have seen, in even requiring the Sixth Form to keep before themselves the great letter-writers of the past as models, still it is to the theme and to the oration that the best work of the Grammar School is required to tend. The theme is the highest product of the written exercise, and the oration is the climax of the ambition of the schoolboy in his speaking of Latin. The speaking of Latin, it must always be remembered, was regarded in the first half of the 17th century pretty much, let us say, as the speaking of French or German now in a good secondary school.

If, then, the speaking of Latin was a direct aim of school instruction, of the seven Liberal Arts—Rhetoric could certainly not fail to be one of the honoured subjects of school instruction. Before proceeding to the subject of the School Themes, I will give some account of the books on Rhetoric. Brinsley suggests that the master should make his pupils perfect in the Rhetoric of [Audomarus] Talæus which, he adds, "I take to be most used in the best schools." The Commentary of Claudius Minos* should be used to help to understand Talæus, both for the sake of rules and examples. Brinsley notes that Mr. Butler, of Magdalen's in Oxford, had published a Rhetoric, and gives his opinion of it as follows: "It is a notable abridgment of Talæus, making it most plain and far more easy to be learned of scholars, and also supplying very many more things wanting in Talæus. Both it and the Commentary together, are almost as small as Talæus alone, and not a much greater price, though the worth be double. It is a book which (as I take it) is yet very little known in schools, though it hath been forth sundry years, set forth for the use of schools; and the use and benefit will be found to be far above all that ever hath been written of the same."

In addition to reading these books, Brinsley wishes his scholar to keep a Catalogue in his mind of the names of the Tropes and Figures—so that he can at once identify any that he finds in his author.

* *i.e.*, Claude Mignault.

Though Brinsley does not mention other Rhetorics, it may be well here to recall some of the better known English works on the subject.

[1524]. Leonard Cox.
The arte or crafte of Rhethoryke. *London. R. Redman.* 8°. B.L.

1553. Sir Thomas Wilson.
The Arte of Rhetorique, for the use of all suche as are studious of eloquence, sette forthe in English, by T. Wilson. *R. Graftonus.* 1553. 4°. B.L.

Other editions 1562, 1567, 1580, 1584, 1585.

[1555]. Richard Sherrye, Londoner.
A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes very profitable for the better understanding of good authors, gathered out of the best Grammarians and Orators. *J. Day, London.* n.d. 16°. B.L.

1563. Richard Rainolde.
A booke called the Foundacion of Rhetorike, because all other partes of Rhetorike are grounded thereupon, every parte sette forthe in an Oracion upon questions verie profitable to bee knowne and redde. *Imprinted at London by Ihon. Kingston.* 1563. 4°. B.L.

1577. Gabriel Harvey.
G. Harveii Rhetor, vel duorum dierum Oratio, de Natura, Arte, et Exercitatione Rhetorica . . . *H. Binneman, Londini.* 1577. 4°.

1577. Henry Peacham.
The Garden of Eloquence, conteyning the figures of Grammer and Rhetorick, from whence maye bee gathered all manner of Flowers, Coulors, Ornaments, exornations, Formes and Fashions of Speech. *H. Jackson, London.* 1577. 4°. B.L.

1584. Dudley Fenner.
The Artes of Logike and Rethorike, plainely set foorthe in the English tounge. n.p. [*Middleburgh, by Richard Schilders*]. 4°.

[1584]. Abraham Fraunce.

The Arcadian Rhetorike: or the Præcepts of Rhetorike made plaine by examples, Greeke, Latin, English, Italian, French, Spanish, out of Homer's Ilias and Odissea, Virgil's Æglogs, Georgikes, and Æneis, Sir Philip Sydneis Arcadia, Songs and Sonets, Torquato Tassoe's Goffredo, Aminta, Torrismando Salust his Judith, and both his semaines Boscan and Garcilassoe's Sonets and Æglogs. *At London. Printed by Thomas Orwin.* 8°.

1600. Charles Butler.

Rhetoricæ libri duo, quorum Prior de Tropis et Figuris, Posterior de Voce et Gestu, Præcipue in usum scholarum accuratius editi. *Oxoniæ. Excudebat Josephus Barnesius.* 1600. 8°.

1621. Joannes Susenbrotus.

Epitome troporum ac schematum et Grammaticorum et Rhetorum, ad Authores tum prefanos tum sacros intelligendos non minus utilis quam necessaria. *Ex Typographia Societatis Stationariorum Londini*, 1621. 8°. [The above edition was published in London—but there was an earlier one published at Zurich 1540].

1633. Thomas Farnaby.

Index Rhetoricus, scholis et institutioni tenerioris ætatis accommodatus. Cui adjiciuntur formulæ oratoriæ. *Londini.* n.d. 12°.

1651. Thomas Horne.

Rhetoricæ compendium Latino-Anglice.

William Dugard.

Rhetorices Elementa. [The date of 1st edition is not certain, but since the work is recommended by Hoole it must be well before 1660. Dugard's *Rhetoric* reached its 11th edition in 1694.]

1654. Thomas Blount.

The Academie of Eloquence. Containing a compleat English Rhetorique, Exemplified. With Common-Places and Formes, digested into an

easie and Methodical way. . . *London Printed, by T.N. for Humphrey Moseley* . . . 1654. 12°.

1657. John Smith.

The Mystery of Rhetoric Unvailed.

Hoole deals with the subject of Rhetoric in discussing the work of the Fourth Form of the School.

"To enter the boys in that art of fine speaking they may make use of Elementa Rhetorica lately printed by Mr. Dugard,* and out of it learn the Tropes and Figures, according to the definitions given by Talæus, and afterwards more illustrated by Mr. Butler. Out of either of which books, they may be helped with store of examples, to explain the Definitions, so as they may know any Trope or Figure that they may meet with in their own authors. When they have thoroughly learned that little book, they may make a synopsis of it, whereby to see its order, and how everything hangs together, and then write the Commonplace heads in a Paper-book . . . unto which they may refer whatever they like in the late English Rhetorick,† Mr. Farnaby's‡ *Index Rhetoricus*, Susenbrotus, Mr. Horne's Compendium Rhetorices, or the like, till they be better able to peruse other authors, that more fully treat of the Art; as Vossius's *Partitiones Oratoriæ*. The *Orator Extemporaneus* (*i.e.*, by Michael Radau) *Tesmari, exercitationes Rhetoricæ*, Nic. Caussinus, Paiot *de Eloquentia*, § and many others, with which a School Library should be very well furnished for the Scholars to make use on, accordingly as they increase in ability of learning."

Perhaps the notes to the various chapters to Butler's *Rhetoric*, containing a large number of illustrative, interesting quotations, principally from classical Latin authors, would be found especially noteworthy to the modern classical reader. Once, at any rate, Butler breaks out with an English quotation.

* For an account of Wm. Dugard, see *Educational Times*, October and November, 1894.

† Apparently Thomas Blount's, of 1654. See above, p. 207.

‡ For an account of Thomas Farnaby, see *Journal of Education*, January, 1895.

§ Charles Paiot: *Tirocinium eloquentiæ* (mentioned by Morhof).

He is dealing with the subject of rhythm. Sometimes, however, he points out there is an epistrophe of sound joined to the rhythm of verse—*ut in illo Homeri nostri poemate.*

Then comes the quotation from Edward Spenser:

> Deeds soone doe die however nobly done,
> And thoughts of men doe as themselves decay:
> But wise words taught in numbers for to runne,
> Recorded by the Muses, live for aye:
> Ne may with storming showers be washt away:
> Ne bitter breathing winds with boist'rous blast,
> Nor age, nor envy, shall them ever wast.
>
> *Et paulo post.*
>
> For not to have been dipt in Lethe Lake,
> Could save the sonne of Thetis from to die: [Achilles.
> But that blinde bard did him immortall make, [Homerus.
> With verses dipt in dew of Castalie:
> Which made the Easterne Conquerour to crie,
> O fortunate young man, whose vertue found
> So brave a Trump, thy noble acts to sound.

Thus, through 11 editions of this school book written in Latin the attention of generations of schoolboys was called to these lines of Spenser, all the more emphatically for being surrounded by Latin on the technical terms of Rhetoric.

Nor can one leave the Rhetoric of Butler without mentioning that, when Butler suggests to the readers that observation of the best writers will give the clearest idea as to the effects of rhythm obtained by the vivid disposition of sonorous and resonous syllables; in a note he says:

"Such as amongst us are equal to those old poets of former days, Homer, Maro, Ovid and others, D. Philippus Sidney, Edmundus Spencer, Samuel Daniel, Michael Drayton, Joshua Sylvester, and that divine poet,

Georgius Wither, whom I recall with honour; and others flourishing in power and art, of whom this age is very rich, and in the first place, master of all these, the single light of his dark age, D. Galfridus Chaucer."

English literature was not taught in the schools of the first half of the 17th century, but this passage takes us very near to the suggestion of it.

I have mentioned that Butler is rich in his quotations from Latin authors, particularly poets of illustrative tropes and figures. It will be seen in the list of Rhetorics (on p. 207) that Abraham Fraunce supplies examples from modern literature, Italian, French, and Spanish. It remains to be added that Dudley Fenner (1584) gives his examples of rhetorical tropes and figures entirely from the Bible. So, too, in 1659, John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, wrote his *Sacred Eloquence or the Art of Rhetorick, as it is layd down in Scripture.*

From what has already been said, it will, I think, be seen, that however technical and stilted the training in Rhetoric may have been, the subject in the hands of judicious teachers must have largely increased the vocabulary of words, of metaphors, and similes. It must have drawn attention, in many ways, to the value of forms of statement and to effective statement. The wealth of imagery in authors read must have been, when the teaching was thorough, a valuable possession, and a sense of alertness in discovering the various tropes and figures could not but be an excellent school discipline. So much for the effect on teachers and pupils—always premising that the teachers were themselves efficient. It does not, indeed, seem too much to suggest that probably modern schools have lost a good deal by the absence of the subject, and it is perhaps worth calling attention to the fact that American schools are beginning to cultivate Rhetoric as a school subject with, of course, English as the basis. No one, I think, can deny that one of the urgent needs of the English non-classical schools is a more systematic training in Composition. A study of the older school curriculum points, I would venture to suggest, to the desirability of a re-habilitation of Rhetoric—as a basis of Composition, altered, it may be, to suit the spirit of

the times and the progressive march of the vernacular, and with the outlook perhaps (for non-classical schools) to modern foreign literature, as material for comparison, as well as to English sources.

One remark further with regard to Rhetoric in the early English schools. With phrases and expressions of a rhetorical aspect, introduced from Latin and Greek, from French, Italian, Spanish, and particularly from the English Bible, it becomes almost impossible to estimate the high value of this now obsolete school discipline in enlarging the vocabulary and in directing the expression of the more educated English people of the 17th century. The effects upon English writers of this training could be easily shown, especially on those trained in the University and the Grammar schools. No history of the study of the English language, we may infer, would be complete which did not include a statement of the formative influence of the study of rhetoric. This has probably not yet been at all adequately considered.

In passing from the subject of the teaching of Rhetoric to the subject of the Oration, it becomes necessary to mention again the name of John Clarke. For I know of no source whence we can derive an idea of the oration as a school exercise so clearly as from his book: *Formulæ Oratoriæ in usum Scholarum concinnatæ, unà cum multis Orationibus Declamationibus, etc., dèque collocatione oratoria et artificio demum Poetico, præceptiunculis.*

The fourth edition of this book was published 1632 (Excudebat A. M[atthews] impensis R. Mylbourne, 12°). The tenth, in 1670, bears on the title-page—novissima autoris opera multo limatior et emendatior. The dedicatory epistle is dated from the Lincoln School, of which Clarke was head master, in 1627.

It is not easy to learn much of John Clarke. We have, however, the testimony of two of his pupils, Colonel Hutchinson and William Walker.

In the Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, we are told that Sir Thomas Hutchinson "removed his sons to the free school at Lincoln, where there was a master very famous for learning and piety, Mr. Clarke; but he was

such a supercilious pedant, and so conceited of his own pedantic forms that he gave Mr. Hutchinson a disgust of him, and he profited very little there." Col. Hutchinson was born in 1616, at Nottingham, and was probably placed in the Lincoln School at least 10 or 12 years later.

Walker was born in Lincoln in 1623, and went to the Lincoln School. He taught at a private school at Fiskerton*—apparently that of John Clarke, for Clarke published in 1646 two sermons in which he described himself as B.D. and Pastor of the Church of Fiskerton, near Lincoln. Walker was afterwards head master of Louth Grammar School and still later, of Grantham Grammar School.

When William Walker planned his *Idiomatologia Anglo-Latina* he says he communicated his design to "my ever to be honoured master, the very reverend and learned Mr. John Clarke, sometime public schoolmaster of Lincoln (my native place), but then a teacher of a private school in Fiskerton; who so well approved of it that with his advice and in his parlour I wrote a letter to Mr. Wm. Dugard, then Master of Merchant Taylors' School in London." . . . . "Now the judgment of these two so able and so experienced schoolmasters had been enough to encourage me to the work, though I had no other but this encouragement to it."—Preface to the Reader.

In the MSS. of Lincoln Corporation Hist. Commission, 1895, there is a single reference to Clarke as follows:—

"1624, April 22.—Whereas there be sundry children of poor inhabitants at the Free School who for want of books are much hindered in their learning it is agreed that the Mayor shall deliver to the now schoolmaster, Mr. Clarke, 20*s.* to provide such books as he shall think most fit, so always as the same books be preserved as the City's books in the said school for ever."

One other point should be mentioned about John Clarke—his devotion to Erasmus. He published in 1639 *Paræmiologia anglo-latina . . . or Proverbs English and Latin, methodically disposed according to the common-place heads, in Erasmus his Adages* (*R. Mylbourne*, 8°).

* Dict. of Nat. Biog., art.: Walker, William.

In his Epistle to the Reader he explains that the book is grounded on "that golden book" of Erasmus, the Chiliads—as he calls the *Adagia*. But he adds that he has "gleaned and gathered these Proverbs out of all writers I could read or meet withal and have used herein the help of sundry scholars and worthy friends, over and besides my own observation of many golden proverbs dropping now and then out of vulgar mouths, *imâ de plebe*." After explaining the method of using his book, he says, "This will both teach and remind them (*i.e.*, pupils) of all learning, history and antiquity: and be a synopsis of most useful and delightful passages in their whole life." Sometime, probably, the student of 17th century English may find a useful study in Clarke's book.

John Clarke's *Formulæ Oratoriæ* is written in Latin, yet it is written as the title-page tells us, for the use of schools. In his address to the reader, Clarke quotes Alsted that teachers should not teach what is to be done merely, but they teach what is to be done, by doing it. The illustrious Erasmus descended into the minutest details when, for the sake of youth, he compiled his *Copia Verborum*; Clarke follows him, *haud passibus equis*, by presenting a treatise of Formulæ and Transitions of Oratorical Compositions, which being for the use of schools should not be meagre in hints and suggestions. In the margin of the same page, Clarke quotes Henricus Schorus, who had said: "I thought it would be of value if I was to bring together into one volume some Formulæ, and if I should expound them as in a table drawn out into diverse divisions."*

The divisions which John Clarke adopts in his treatment of Oratory are the Formulæ of the Exordium, and the methods of Narration. The methods of Connexion, *e.g.*, the Transitions from the Exordium to Narration, from Narration to Division, and some Formulæ whereby a Peroration may be made. Clarke quotes Richerius: *Obstetrix Animorum* (1607) as

* The work of Schorus is named: *Specimen et forma legitime tradendi Sermonis et Rationis Disciplinas ex P. Rami scriptis collecta.* To this book, in the edition of 1572, John Sturm contributed a preface.

saying, and apparently Lipsius in his *de Institutione Epistolarum* as agreeing, that Cicero himself had brought together some of his principles of Oratory from the *Exordia* of Demosthenes. This is an argument for looking to the highest orators, and to deduce from them the Formulæ. Yet for teaching boys this task requires doing and setting down. Many might have been found better than himself and more skilled in instructing boys, yet in good will and industry Clarke will yield to none. It is not, however, altogether his work, for he has borrowed from others after the fashion of men better than himself. He proposes to treat of Declamations, under the *formulæ* Exordiendi, Insinuandi, and Moderandi, and under the circumstances loci, temporis, and personarum.

In themes, there are five general parts: Exordium, Narratio, Confirmatio, Confutatio, Conclusio—and, according to the great Vossius, Division ought to be added.

The great difficulty as noticed by all the writers on the teaching of the writing of themes is the collection of matter on the various subjects. Here are Hoole's directions:

1. He would have them provide a large Common-place book, in which they should write at least those heads which Mr. Farnaby had set down in his *Index Rhetoricus*, and then busy themselves to collect the short Histories out of Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, Justin, Cæsar, Lucius Florus, Livy, Pliny, Pareus, *Medulla Historiæ*, Ælianus.

2. Apologues and Fables out of Æsop, Phædrus, Ovid, Natalis Comes.

3. Adagies out of Adagia Selecta, Erasmi Adagia, Drax's Bibliotheca Scholastica, etc.

4. Hieroglyphics out of Pierius and Caussinus, etc.

5. Emblems and Symbols out of Alciat, Beza, Quarles, Reusnerus, Chartarius, etc.

6. Ancient Laws and Customs out of Diodorus Siculus, Paulus Manutius, Plutarch, etc.

7. Witty Sentences out of Golden Grove, Moral Philosophy, Sphinx Philosophica, Wit's Commonwealth, Flores Doctorum, Tullies' Sentences, Demosthenes' Sententiæ, Encheiridion Morale, Stobeus, Ethica Ciceroniana.

8. Rhetorical Exornations out of Vossius, Farnaby, Butler, etc.

9. Topical Places out of Caussinus, Tresmarus, Orator Extemporaneus.

10. Descriptions of things natural and artifical out of Orbis Pictus, Caussinus, Plinius, etc. "Nor may I forget Textor's Officina, Lycosthenes, Erasmi Apophthegmata, Carolina Apophthegmata and Polyanthea, which together with all that can be got of this nature, should be laid up in the School Library for scholars to pick what they can out of; besides what they read in their own Authors."

So much for the Matter of the Theme.

As to the Manner and Method of writing Themes—Hoole says:

"Now the manner I would have them use them, is this; Having a Theme given them to treat of, as suppose, this;

Non æstas semper fuerit, componite nidos.

Let them first consult what they have read in their own Authors concerning *Tempus*, *Aestas*, *occasio*, or *opportunitas*, and then,

2. Let every one take one of those books fore-mentioned and see what he can find in it for his purpose, and write it down under one of those heads in his Common-place book; but first let the Master see whether it will suit with the Theme.

3. Let them all read what they have written before the Master and every one transcribe what others have collected, into his own book; and thus they may always have store of matter for invention always at hand, which is far beyond what their own wit is able to conceive. Now to furnish themselves also with copy of good words and phrases, besides what they have collected weekly, and what hath been already said of varying them; they should have these and the like books reserved in the School Library, viz.; *Sylva Synonymorum*, *Calliepia*, *Huisse's Phrases*, *Winchester's Phrases*,

(i.e., Robinson's Phrasebook, in use at Winchester) ***Lloyd's Phrases, Farnaby's Phrases, Encheiridion Oratorium, Clarke's Phraseologia,*** and his ***English Adagies, Willis' Anglicisms, Barets' Dictionary, Hulet or rather Higgins' Dictionary; Drax' Bibliotheca, Parei Calligraphia, Manutii Phrases, A little English Dictionary*** 16°, and ***Walker's Particles;*** and if at any time they can wittily and pithily invent anything of their own brain; you may help them to express it in good Latin, by increasing use of Cooper's Dictionary, either as himself directeth in his preface, or Phalerius will more fully show you, in his ***Supplementa ad Grammaticam.***

The Importance of Good Patterns.

First therefore let them peruse that [pattern] in the Merchant Taylors' School Probation Books, and then those at the end of ***Winchester Phrases****** and those in Mr. Clarke's ***Formulæ Oratoriæ;*** and afterwards they may proceed to those in Aphthonius, Rodulphus Agricola, Catineus, Lorichius, and the like; and learn how to prosecute the several parts of a Theme more at large, by intermixing some of those ***Formulæ Oratoriæ,*** which Mr. Clarke and Mr. Farnaby have collected, which are proper to every part; so as to bring their matter into handsome and plain order, and to flourish and adorn it neatly with Rhetorical Tropes and Figures, always regarding the composure of words, as to make them run in a pure and even style, according to the best of their Authors, which they must always observe as precedents."

How to encourage Children in Writing Themes.

"After you have shown them how to find matter, and where to help themselves with words and phrases, and in what order they are to dispose the parts, and what Formulas they are to use in passing from one to another; propound a Theme to them in English and Latin, and let them strive who can soonest return you the best ***Exordium*** in English, and then who can render it into the best Latin, and so you may proceed to the Narration, and

* For one example, see p. 244.

quite through every part of a Theme, not tying them to the words of any author, but giving them liberty to contract or enlarge or alter them as they please; so that they still contend to go beyond them in purity of expression. This being done, you may dismiss them to adventure to make every one his own exercises in English and Latin and to bring it fair written, and be able to pronounce it distinctly *memoriter* at a time appointed. And when once you see they have gained a perfect way of making Themes of themselves, you may let them go on to attain the habit by their own constant practice, ever and anon minding them what places in their Authors (as they read) are most worthy notice and imitation, and for what purposes they may serve them."

The pride of each school of repute in the 17th century was in the thoroughness with which the boys could speak Latin and write Latin. One of the supreme tests therefore was the ability to compose and deliver orations. There were a number of text books written to show the method of oratorical composition. In England, for example, Wm. Pemble, in 1633, published *Enchiridion Oratorium.* In 1633, also, the great classical scholar and schoolmaster, Thomas Farnaby, issued his *Index Rhetoricus*—to which were added the *Formulæ Oratoriæ.* Editions of this followed—the 2nd in 1634; 3rd in 1640; 4th, 1646; 5th, 1654, and another edition in 1659. And as already stated, in 1632 was published the 4th edition of John Clarke's *Formulæ Oratoriæ in usum Scholarum concinnatæ; Unà cum Orationibus, Declamationibus.*

When the boy comes into the Sixth Form, Hoole would have at hand for him the Orations of Turner, Baudius, Muretus, Heinsius, Puteanus, Rainold, Lipsius, Barclay, Salmasius. In the Fifth Form he was to have consulted the *Enchiridion Oratorium,** the *Orator Extemporaneus,*† and

* This is probably Wm. Pemble's *Enchiridion Oratorium,* 1633, but there was another book on the subject: *Enchiridion duplex: Oratorium nempe et Poeticum: hoc ab A. Rossæo . . . concinnatum, illud a T. Morello concinnatum, sed ab eodem Rossæo recognitum et auctum* 1650.

Alexander Ross, Head Master of the Southampton Grammar School from 1616–1654, is a good example of the conservative learned schoolmaster. *See* an account of him in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* November, 1895.

† By Michael Radau. An edition was published in London, 1657.

in the Fourth Form, the *Dux Oratorius.** And, of course, long before he consulted these he was to have composed epistles and themes, both in English and Latin. To do these it was necessary to have learned Rhetoric, and to apply the rhetorical rules to his composition.

I propose to give a full account of the rules for the division of letters, themes and declamations, as found in one of the chief text-books named by Hoole, viz.: John Clarke's *Formulæ Orationis*, but it is necessary to bear well in mind that the pupil was required by such masters as Charles Hoole (following Ascham) to make most extensive use of common-place books in which were to be collected all sorts of phrases, apophthegms, adages, emblems, witty sentences, rhetorical exornations, etc.

Brinsley considers that orations are properly the work of university teaching. Still he allows that Tully's Orations may well be studied for translation in school. He also approves of reading the Orations of Turner and Muretus. Orations in schools, Brinsley approves as follows: "Yet because in schools of special note, and where there are ancient scholars, sometimes it may be expected amongst them, that some one of them should make an Oration to entertain a benefactor, or other person of note; and it may be, to do it *ex tempore*, as their coming is of a sudden, therefore certain special heads of an Oration to that purpose might ever be in readiness, as the commendations of a person for his descent, learning, love and countenance of good learning and virtue, beneficence, courtesy, favour towards that place, and the like. Also for excusing themselves by their tender years, want of experience and of practice in that kind, bashfulness, timorousness; and yet their desire to answer the party's love and expectation, with presuming upon their patience and such others. To be acquainted also with variety of choice phrases to the same purposes, to have them ever in fresh memory."

Charles Hoole is still better affected towards Orations. In the Fifth Form he would have his scholars translate one from Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, and

* This, apparently, is a portion of John Clarke's *Dux Grammaticus*. It has a separate title-page: *Dux oratorius, sive Methodus ad eloquentiam Compendaria Quâ tyro literarius ad copiam verborum plenam, suâvem, numerosam et nervosam manuducitur:*

viz. { *Imitatione.* *Paraphrasi.* *Synopsi.* *Metaphrasi et Variatione Phrasium, etc.*, 1633, 7th ed. 1677.

Quintus Curtius every day, and once a week recite them both in English and Latin. "I know not what others may think of this task," he says, "but I have experienced it to be a most effectual mean to draw on my scholars to emulate one another who could make the best exercises of their own in the most rhetorical style." It made his boys, he goes on to say, "like so many nightingales to contend who could μάλιστα λιγέως, most melodiously, tune his voice and frame his style to pronounce and imitate the forementioned orations." He explicitly directs that the boys of a school should learn how to intermix phrases from the Formulæ of Mr. Clarke and Mr. Farnaby—so that they may "flourish and adorn their theme neatly with rhetorical tropes and figures, always regarding the composure of words so as to make them run in a pure and even style." In another place, Hoole says: "No day in the week should pass on which some Declamation, Oration, or Theme, should not be pronounced about a quarter of an hour before the school is broken up." This is in the Sixth Form.

Of the phraseological compilations, the following are worth mentioning:

JOHN CLARKE.

Phraseologia puerilis Anglo-Latina in usum tyrocinii scholasticii. Or, Selected Latine and English phrases, wherein the purity and proprietie of both languages is expressed. Very useful for young Latinists, to prevent barbarisms,* and bald Latine-making, and to initiate them in speaking and writing elegantly in both Languages. *London, imprinted by Felix Kyngston for Robert Mylbourne*, 1638. 8°.

Second Edition. Reocognized by W. Du-gard. *London.* 1650. 12°.

In his postscript Clarke states that the whole Phraseologia is for the most part gathered out of that "golden work of Erasmi Colloquia, worthy the often reading by all scholars."

* It is worth noting that these books of Willis and Clarke set themselves against the evil which Milton condemns in the school compositions: "The ill habit which they get of wretched barbarising against the Latin and Greek Idiom with their untutored Anglicisms."

HUGH ROBINSON: Scholæ Wintoniensis Phrases Latinæ. The Latine Phrases of Winchester School. Second edition. *London, for Humphrey Moseley*, 1658. 8°.

From this the simple theme given (p. 244) is taken.

THOMAS WILLIS.

Proteus Vinctus, sive æquivoca sermonis Anglicani, ordine alphabetico digesta, et Latine reddita, etc. Anglicisms Latinized, or English Proprieties rendered into Proper Latine. For the use and benefit of Grammar Scholars in Making, Writing, and Talking Latin. *London, E. Cotes* [*for*] *W. London.* 1655. 8°.

WILLIAM WALKER.

A Dictionarie of English and Latine Idiomes, wherein phrases of the English and Latine tongue answering in parallels each to the other are ranked under severall heads. *London.* [1670]. 8°.

A copy of the sixth edition (1708) in the British Museum is entitled *Idiomatologia Anglo-Latina*, but keeps the old engraved titlepage. The work was dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon, and in the Preface to the Reader Walker refers both to John Clarke and to William Dugard, Master of the Merchant Taylors' School.

It would seem that these elaborate phrasebooks were likely to defeat their own ends—for the boys must have been relieved to a great extent from collecting phrases in a Common-place book—an exercise on which, at any rate, Hoole, as we have seen, laid great stress. They could, by these Phrase-books, usually find what they wanted, or, at any rate, what would serve, without collecting from classical authors.

Thus equipped with phrase-books and all sorts of books of reference, and having mastered the art of letter-writing and theme-writing, the pupil proceeded to the art of composing orations or declamations.

In the handling of the theme, Brinsley wishes the scholar to follow Aphthonius. He is to learn to invent reasons for himself and to find out more store of matter and phrase—by the use of the help of the best books. Lastly he is to have continual practice.

But whatever the theory of theme-writing might be in the minds of Brinsley, of Clarke, of Hoole, the working out of the exercises in the schools received the keenest criticism. Milton, for instance, considers it "preposterous" to require from the "empty heads of children" the composition of themes, verses and orations which are the arts of ripest judgment, and the final work of a head filled by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims and copious invention."

In a "Pattern for Young Students," 1729—viz.: the Life of Mr. Ambrose Bonwick, after an account of the books he had read when at the University at the age of 19—in 11 months, in addition to his reading he is said to have "made four-and-twenty Greek and Latin themes" amongst the exercise work, so that evidently the more elaborate theme was considered University work, whilst the schoolmaster's task was to get the boy as near to writing the theme with credit as might be possible. In some cases, no doubt, the work was pretentious and superficial in the extreme, and worthy of Milton's severest censure. But in others, as for instance, in Thomas Farnaby's school, and probably in Hoole's, no doubt remarkable work was done, through the special ability and enthusiasm shown by the teachers. But what Farnaby could himself do and had his boys to do, there is every reason to suppose that the great mass of the teachers of the time were utterly unable to accomplish. Attractive as the idea of theme-writing might be, it was beyond the power of ordinary boys to acquire, and ordinary teachers to give. What Milton feels is: optimi corruptio, pessima.

V.—*THE ORATION.*

The oration is clearly founded upon the idea of disputations. We find persons represented in the character of defendens, opponens, moderator and laurifer. Each of the first two makes his speeches after the manner of a theme. But the foundation of the oration in the complete form is the disputation. The disputation had been the basis of the degree in the early Universities, and it always remained a specially academic exercise.

John Stockwood, the Tonbridge Head Master, put forth a book, which found recommendation from both Brinsley and Hoole, called *Grammatical Disputations. Disputatiunculorum grammaticalium libellus ad puerorum in scholis trivialibus exacuenda ingenia.* 2nd ed. 1607, 6th ed. 1650. Brinsley holds that grammatical disputations and oppositions are important school exercises.* He even suggests "It was worthy the labour of some ingenious and good Latinist as Mr. Stockwood, to handle some of the questions of Tully's Offices after the manner of his grammatical disputations to fit scholars the more for such witty and pleasant disputations against that they should come to the University." †

Stow's well-known passage (Survey of London, Strype's ed., pt. 123–4) is worth recalling:

"But the arguing of the school-boys about the principles of Grammar, hath been continued even till our time (Stow's Survey was published 1598); for I myself, in my youth, have yearly seen (on the eve of St. Bartholomew the Apostle) the Scholars of divers Grammar Schools repair unto the Churchyard of St. Bartholomew the Priory in Smithfield, where (upon a bank boarded about under a Tree) some one scholar hath stepped up, and there hath opposed and answered, 'till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down: And when the overcomer taking the place, did like as the first; and in the end, the best opposers and answerers had rewards; which I observed not. But it made *both good Schoolmasters and also good Scholars (diligently against such times to prepare themselves for the obtaining this Garland.)*"

In the Statutes for Sandwich School (drawn up 1580) Sir Roger Manwood ordains that after his death, "every year once viz. the Tuesday next after

* Brinsley's XVIIth Chapter is entitled: Of Grammatical Oppositions; how to dispute scholarlike of any grammar question in good Latin.

† Contests in verse-making also took place in schools. I have a book entitled: Lusus Poeticus Latino-Anglicanus: in usum Scholarum, or, The more eminent sayings of the Latin Poets Collected; and for the service of Youth in that Ancient exercise commonly called Capping of Verse . . . . rendered into English. By John Langston, Teacher at a private Grammar School near Spittlefields, London. 2nd edition, 1679.

the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, there be kept in the School *Disputations*, upon questions provided by the Master, from seven or eight of the clock in the forenoon till Nine or ten of the clock following at which disputations I ordain, that the Master desire the Parsons and Vicars of the town with one or other of knowledge or more dwelling nigh, to be present in the school if it please them to hear the same. The disputation ended, to determine which three of the whole number of several forms have done best by the judgements of the Master and learned hearers; and I ordain that the first allowed have a Pen of Silver whole gilt of the price of *2s. 6d.*; the second a Pen of Silver parcel gilt of the price of *2s.*; the third a Pen of Silver of *20d.* for their rewards. And then I will that the whole company, go in order decently by two and two to the Parish Church, . . . the three victors to come last next to the Master and Usher and either of them to have a garland on their heads provided for the purpose, and in the Church then and there to kneel or stand in some convenient place to be appointed by the discretion of the Governors and Master of the School and to say or sing some convenient Psalm or Hymn, with a Collect having some convenient remembrance and making mention of the Church, the Realm, the Prince, the Town and the Founder as shall be appointed and devised by the Master."

Nicholas Carlisle reports in 1818 that at Tunbridge the Governors, viz., the Company of Skinners go to Tunbridge accompanied by an Examiner. A congratulatory Oration in Latin is spoken by the Head Boy. After Church, they return to the School—when a few Latin Orations are said, and an Oral Examination takes place. After dinner, at 5 o'clock, they return to the School, and *Grammatical Disputations*, "a very ancient exercise," are commenced by the Six Senior Scholars.

Later on the Statutes require "For furnishing of their . . . . Disputations and other exercises, scholars shall be called upon to have and to read in private study—Livy—all good histories, poets, books of common-places, sentences, apophthegms, and such like."

As far as one can judge it appears that in such schools as that of John Clarke the use of the oration was for a public display before the chief people of the City and parents of pupils, probably on what was known until quite recently in the Lincoln School, as "Declamation Day." A translation of a full "Oration" from Clarke's *Formulæ Oratoriæ* is given in the Appendix. (p. 252 *et seqq.*)

VI.—*CONCLUSION.*

In making this sketch of the School Curriculum and the School Text-Books of the first half of the 17th century I have not attempted to deal with educational reformers as such. It is now far easier to get an insight into the views on education of men like Milton, Comenius, Hartlib, than to have any adequate idea of the aims of the ordinary working school-master, with reasonable qualifications and interest in the established order of things. It is practicable to see into the ideals of a Dr. Richard Busby,* and H. B. Wilson, the historian of Merchant Taylors' School, makes us acquainted with William Dugard. So, too, we can learn something of the masters of the public schools of the time by consulting the histories of the separate schools.† But nowhere that I know is to be found any account of the text-books used in the schools, particularly in the provincial schools. It seems to me, therefore, that it is particularly desirable to put forward some account of such books, evidently in common use, as is to be found in the previous pages.

For in a history of education, it is not sufficient to read of the men who were ahead of their generation. The great bulk of the practical work was done by men who simply attempted to teach in accordance with what was

* As for instance, in Mr. G. F. R. Barker's Memoir of Richard Busby . . . with some account of Westminster School in the 17th century. 1895.

† *e.g.*, in the English Public School Series of Messrs. Duckworth, and the Annals of English Public Schools of Messrs. Methuen.

considered to be contemporary needs. The ideals of these men were largely founded on the intellectual achievements of the preceding age. Conservatism in the school is a permanent attitude, and particularly so, when education is in its empirical, un-reflective, un-self-conscious stage. Nor is such a study unprofitable. For the study of the school work of any particular age will quickly bring the thoughtful student to a consideration of the intellectual, literary, social, political, and in the first half of the 17th century especially, to the religious environment, of which the school work is ever, to some extent, a reflection.

I have not, so far, dealt definitely with this aspect. I will, therefore, now show certain ways in which school work and school text-books were affected by the religious aims of the community. For it is commonly supposed that the schools founded in the renascence spirit and with classical aims, were not specifically connected with religious motives. However this may have been in any particular country, say in Italy, in England, the contrary is the fact.

Nothing could, however, more eloquently illustrate the importance attached to religion than a study of the statutes of the schools.

In 1518 John Colet formulated the statutes of St. Paul's School. The spirit which animated Colet is undoubtedly the spirit of the English Renascence of learning. The general tendency of that spirit in relation to school work may be gathered from the section entitled: "What Shall be Taught."

"As touching in this Scole what shall be taught of the Maisters, and learned of the Scolers, it passeth my wit to devise and determine in particular, but in general to speak and some what to say my mind, I would they were taught always in good literature both Latin and Greek, and good authors such as have the very Roman eloquence joined with wisdom, specially Christian authors, that wrote their wisdom with clean and chaste Latin, other in verse or in prose, for my intent is by this school, specially to increase knowledge and worshipping of God and Our Lord Christ Jesus, and good Christian life and manners in the Children."

Such a passage in the statutes of St. Paul's School deserves emphasis, for it is typical of the English early foundations. The points of especial importance are the insistance on eloquence and the insistance on the inculcation of religion. When Colet proceeds to mention the authors to be read, the list suggested appears as follows: The Catechism in English, the Accidence (Colet's own Grammar or some other, if any be better to the purpose), Erasmus's *Institutum Christiani Hominis*, Erasmus's *Copia Verborum*, and the authors, Lactantius, Prudentius, and Proba, and Sedulius and Juvencus and Baptista, specifically named as "authors Christian" and "most to the purpose unto the true Latin speech." Further, whilst Colet desires Cicero, Sallust, Vergil and Terence to be taught—it is for the sake of Latin "speech," and he uses the word speech quite literally. He deliberately forbids the "filthiness and all such abusion as the later blind world brought in," and suggests that it is to be called "blotterature" rather than literature.

This distinctively religious note of the Early English School system became even more intensified as time went on. There is a most significant little book written by Thomas Lupset, Londoner, which brings out the struggle between reverence for the newly discovered Classical authors, and the intensified study of the Scriptures for the educated young man. It is called "An Exhortation to young men" (1529) and is addressed by a tutor to his pupil advising him as to his pathway of life, and including a course of study. It is so vigorously and affectionately written, with such an obvious zeal for the young man's "honesty and goodness," that it breathes of sincerity and evidently lets us directly into the deepest thought of the writer. Lupset protests against the reading of many books, but wishes his pupil to study closely a few. First, read the New Testament with a due reverence. Have at hand St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome. Hereafter at leisure read the Ethics of Aristotle. Let Plato be familiar with you, especially De Republica. Also, read Cicero De Officis, de Senectute, de Fato, de Finibus, de Academicis questio and de Tusc. Read with diligence the works of Seneca. Lupset also recommends the Enchiridion of Erasmus.

He apologises for the fewness of the number of the books recommended, "and yet they shall do you more good than the reading here and there of many other." Lupset desires his pupil to care first for the "goods" of the soul.

John Sturm, who was Rector of the famous School of Strassburg from 1538 to 1583, gave a distinct impulse to the ideal of *pietas Literata*, in the German secondary schools. But it was as prominent in the English schools. In that characteristic document, the Royal Proclamation prefixed to Lily's Grammar, the schoolmasters and teachers of grammar are enjoined: "Fail not to apply your scholars in learning and godly education."

So, too, in private education of noblemen's families. For instance:

Dr. Laurence Humfrey, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, wrote The Nobles, or Of Nobility, in 1563, in which he suggests that the teachers of noblemen's children should teach some of Cicero's epistles and treatises. But he goes on to recommend certain colloquies* of Castalio and Erasmus, "timely to sow the seeds of godliness and virtue." So closely are the classics and religion united in this writer under the influence of the Renascence, that when he instances the orators to be read, his list begins, "Isocrates, Demosthenes, and the most reverend author and orator Christ Jesus, with the Apostles, whose writings I allow ever first and last."

I cannot here enter into the influence of Calvinism upon the development of education, further than to suggest that the tendency so strongly marked in its results on the educational system of Holland and of Scotland is also clearly discernible in the educational tendencies of thinkers on educational problems and of school-teachers in England. The sterner side of Puritanism may be very distinctly seen in the doubtfulness which

* In this connection the places of the Colloquy in instruction must not be overlooked as a religious influence, *e.g.*, the Colloquies of Erasmus and Castilian, as mentioned above, and particularly those of Corderius, who was a distinguished Calvinist, and whose Colloquies were translated by both Brinsley and Hoole for school use.

developed as to the teaching of classics in schools. Humfrey is conscious of the value of reading Terence for conversational Latin. But he fears to give him a place, and would not, he says, be constrained to do so, were it not that Cicero esteemed him so much as to take not the least part of his eloquence from him. For Terence is a poet "both nipping in taunts and wanton in talk." By the time of Comenius this feeling had so intensified that that great Educational Reformer declined to countenance the reading of classical authors in schools, and required that fresh material should be forthcoming for school books. But this is no isolated opinion. During the Commonwealth period it was the conviction of a considerable number of the writers that the Classics were in conflict with the aims of a Christian school. William Dell, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (in time of Cromwell) said: "My counsel is that they (children) learn the Greek and Latin tongues especially from Christians, and so without the lies, fables, follies, vanities, whoredoms, lust, pride, revenge, etc., of the heathens, especially seeing neither their words nor their phrases are meet for Christians to take in their mouth; and most necessary it is, that Christians should forget the names of their gods and muses, which were but devils and damned creatures, and all their mythology and fabulous inventions and let them all go to Satan from whence they came."

It thus appears that with the course of the history of religion, a change takes place in school aims and school work. The bond between learning and religion is reflected almost necessarily in the school text-books. I have described the general lines of the school curriculum, and have endeavoured to give the current ordinary practice of the times in school work. But a study of the text-book shows a most remarkable confirmatory and parallel movement in the direction of the religious tendencies of the age.

For the sake of illustration, take the subject of spelling. Thomas Lye, in the 17th century, compiled *A New Spelling Book; Or Reading and Spelling English made Easie. Wherein all the words of our English Bible are set down in an alphabetical order and divided into distinct syllables.* This reached at any rate a fourth edition (Hazlitt's Bibliographical

Collection, Series II).* Copy-book headings in this period certainly often concerned themselves with Scriptural texts.

So, too, with teaching Latin: In 1675 Elisha Coles published two books:

1. Nolens Volens; or you shall make Latin whether you will or no . . . Together with the Youth's Visible Bible being an alphabetical collection (from the whole Bible) of such general heads (*i.e.* subjects) as were judged most capable of hieroglyphics (*i.e.* copper-plates).

2. Syncrisis, or the most natural and easie method of learning Latin by comparing it with English. Together with the holy History of Scripture Wars (*i.e.* in Latin and English).

Even Natural Philosophy in the treatment of Comenius becomes *Natural Philosophie reformed by Divine Light* (English translation in 1651).†

The general reputation of Rhetoric as a subject of instruction was not likely to be overlooked by the 17th century writers, even when their first aim was the inculcation of religion. Accordingly we find a series of Rhetorics specially devoted to the elucidation of Bible-Rhetoric, if we may so call it.

Thus Rainolde in his *Artes of Logike and Rhethorike*, 1584, gives his examples from the Scriptures. He winds up his Preface to the Christian Reader "So I commit this to the direction of God his Spirit, whom I pray

* I also find in an advertisement in S. Boncle's *Vestibulum Technicum* (1701), *Reading made Easie; or a Necessary Preparative to the Psalter. By Wm. Bowksley.*

† Full title: Naturall Philosophie Reformed by Divine Light: Or, A Synopsis of Physicks: By J. A. Comenius: Exposed to the censure of those that are Lovers of Learning, and desire to be taught of God. Being a view of the World in generall, and of the particular Creatures therein contained: grounded upon Scripture Principles with a briefe Appendix touching the Diseasis of the Body, Mind, and Soul. By the same Author. *London. Printed by Robert and William Leybourn, for Thomas Pierrepont, at the Sun in Paul's Churchyard, MDCLI.* I may add here that there was even a book published with the following title: Christian Geography and Arithmetie, or a True Survey of the World; together with the Art of numbering our days. *By T. Hardcastle, of Bristol.* 1674.

so to increase thy knowledge by all good and lawful means as thou mayest discern things that differ and walk without offence, until the day of the Lord. Amen."

Thomas Hall:

Rhetorica Sacra; or A Synopsis of the most materiall Tropes and Figures contained in the Sacred Scriptures; by the summing of which we may of ourselves observe many more like unto them . . . All the Tropes and Figures are set in an Alphabetical Order, for the more easie finding of them, and illustrated with variety of instances for the better understanding of them. 1654.

John Prideaux, late Lord Bishop of Worcester:

Sacred Eloquence: Or the Art of Rhetorick as it is layd down in Scripture. *London. Printed by W. Wilson, for George Sawbridge.* 1659. 8°.

Mr. Fiske, in his "Beginnings of New England," has said: "The noblest type of modern European Statesmanship, as represented by Mazzini and Stein, is the spiritual offspring of seventeenth century Puritanism." It would be equally true, and perhaps more obvious that the great educational leaders and reformers, such as Hartlib, Dury and Comenius, are the direct outcome of the Puritanic spirit engaged in the educational arena. But the effect of Puritanism is traceable quite as clearly in the workers in the schools. No examples could be clearer than those of the men whose names appear so frequently in this paper, John Brinsley and Charles Hoole.

Speaking on the pleasure of remembrance by the teacher of his school work, Brinsleys says:

"I can ordinarily take more true delight and pleasure in following my children (by observing the earnest strife and emulation which is amongst them, which of them shall do the best, and in the sensible increase of their learning and towardness) than anyone can take in following hawks and hounds, or in any other the pleasantest recreation, as I verily persuade myself. And the rather because, after my labour ended, my chiefest

delight is in the remembrance thereof; and in the consideration of the certain good that I know shall come thereby, both unto Church and Commonwealth, and also that my labour and service is acceptable to the Lord, though all men should be unthankful." I have described the religious instruction as required by Brinsley for the Grammar School, the necessity of attendance at Church, the Catechism, and the reproduction of sermons read on the Sunday. So might be added the learning of Hebrew by the highest boys. But it is not so much by statement of details as in the whole spirit of Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* that we realise how Puritanic in mind he is. Of the Master, however, he definitely says: "He ought to be a godly man .... And also to the end that God may grace him with authority, to aim in all his labour, not at his own private gain or credit, but how he may most honour God in his place, do the best service to his Church, and most profit the children committed to him. To exhibit the blessing of his labours only from the Lord, and to ascribe all the praise to him alone." Brinsley was the Head Master of the Ashby de la Zouch Grammar School, and Hoole was the Head of a private Grammar School.

The religious spirit is prominent in Hoole. With him, too, it is necessary to read through his *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* to realise how thoroughly part of himself is the Puritanic spirit. At the end of this work, Hoole says that he heartily commends his book to "God's heavenly blessing, and the candid censure of the more judicious, hoping that as I intend chiefly the general good, so none will requite me with malicious obtrectation, which, if any shall do, I charitably pray for them beforehand, that God would for Christ's sake forgive them, and grant that I may not heed what they write or say concerning me or my labours, so as to be discouraged in my honest endeavours for the public service."

In these phrases, "the general good," the "public service," Hoole claims affinity with the educational reformers, Hartlib, Dury, and Comenius. But it is of the spirit of the Commonwealth—and a close consideration of the democratic impetus in educational as in other lines of public activity in those writers, would probably show that Mr. Fiske has much strength in

his opinion that democratic views, both in England and New England, have a causal ground in the earlier Puritanic theocratical position.

If, then, we desire to understand the practice of the schools and the text-books, in the first half of the 17th century, it is not sufficient to study the works of the educational reformers of that period. In fact, such a study will probably lead us astray. It is to the whole current of the later 16th century thought we should turn our attention, and no one can fail to be struck by the outstanding position of religion—particularly the Puritanism, which especially took its source from the returned exiles from Geneva, when the influence of John Calvin had made itself felt. I have not attempted to establish this connexion, but merely to suggest it. I hope to follow up the question in more detail at some future time. Probably, religion was the most direct, the most immediate in its transference into educational influence in the period before us. Literary influence is often long in working its way into the schools. We are to-day familiar enough with the idea of teaching a play of Shakespere in the school, but I know of no instance of the mention of Shakespere's name even in a school-book as early as 1660, though, as we have seen, Charles Butler quotes Spenser, and Hoole names George Herbert and Quarles. But besides the religious and literary culture which affected school practice and along with it school text-books, no doubt a full treatment would show the influence of social and political forces. But in all these cases, the active social literary political religious forces which lie behind the school work are usually those of at least a generation or two previous.

However much difference of opinion there might be with regard to the fitness of different authors for school use* there was apparently a conspicuous

* So marked is the religious spirit that we find books such as *Terentius Christianus* of Cornelius Schonæus, consisting of Latin plays on scriptural subjects. So, too, Alexander Ross compiled his *Virgilius Evangelisans*, or a History of Jesus Christ described in the actual words of Virgil. Such works may be regarded as an attempt to preserve the Latinity, and to escape the imputation of the teaching of Latin Classics being unchristian. Alexander Ross in other books attempts to interpret Heathen Mythology in terms of Christianity.

agreement as to the aim of making Latin a spoken language. Hence the methods for this purpose were largely oral, and involved the teaching of such subjects as rhetoric and oratory, and a consequent excellent practice in a subject which, with its supplementary subject of logic, has possibilities in itself for a keen mental discipline.

In this paper I have laid stress on the place of rhetoric and the oration in schools. The basis of this subject is to be found, of course, in the aim—futile though it proved, of bringing Latin into the schools as a spoken language. It is, perhaps, most vividly illustrated by recalling those almost pathetic words of John Sturm, when he enviously laments the advantages of Roman children. "Cicero was but twenty when he delivered his speeches in behalf of Quintius and Roscius: but in these days where is the man even of eighty, who could make such speeches? But there are books enough and intellect enough. What need we further? We need the Latin language and a correct method of teaching. Both these we must have before we can arrive at the summit of eloquence."

It would be an interesting inquiry to discover the processes whereby the teaching of Latin as a spoken language gave way to Latin as a written language. But all that can be said here is that the transition carried with it momentous consequences. In the Grammar School teaching, much of the work became paper work, and it does not seem too strong an expression to use with regard to the change, to say that there has probably been a great loss of vividness in the methods. If we bear in mind what has been so excellently said by Professor Laurie, that in the time of Milton, Latin occupied in minds of educational thinkers the position which to-day a modern international language fills, we see that the recognition of Latin as merely a written and dead language, has affected the methods of teaching, and the old conceptions of rhetoric and oratory have fallen into disuse. But further reflection, and especially the reflection founded on historical study, may even yet convince the modern teacher, that if the modern languages are to be well taught, yes, even if the vernacular is to be understood, and to become an easy instrument of expression, there will have to

be a return to some more systematic form of oral instruction than is at present in practice. The change, no doubt, is coming in the Grammar School teaching, but it is largely due probably to the indirect influence of the Elementary Schools and the Girls' High School. But it is not improbable that there will be even a greater approximation to the methods of the earlier Grammar Schools, to the teaching of the grounds and practice of rhetoric and oratory—of course, not with a view to Latin speaking, but so as to promote a better insight into, and control of, the vernacular in the first instance, and then of modern languages. Even the practice of the schools of the first half of the 17th century, quite apart from theoretical reformers, raises this most suggestive and important problem.

With confidence, therefore, I venture to suggest that one branch of historical enquiry that deserves to be followed up is the exact nature of the curriculum pursued in English schools in every period of our history—the nature and scope and method of treatment of the text-books, and some enquiry into the exact literary, social, political, philosophical, religious or other particular forces which especially tended to bring about the particular state of the schools. The present sketch is by no means comprehensive, but it will have succeeded in its object if it has shown that the best secondary school education of the first half of the 17th century was not so haphazard as some educationists of the 20th century are apt to suppose—that it had such distinct aims as that of the inculcation of rhetoric—and the training in religion as conceived by the age—and that these aims were determined by the mighty conflict of men's minds in previous generations, and constituted an intelligible and interesting continuity which can be traced, and which by the humanist-educationist is worthy of being considered and studied, not only as past history, but as food for reflection for our educational thought to-day. For he who has not thought much upon the relation between the antecedent conditions of national history—together with the Zeit-Geist, in their relation to schoolwork at some past period of time, when the whole problem can be viewed as comparatively statical, is not likely to form a very just or comprehensive view of the complex problems

of his own age, when the factors for consideration are so numerous, vested interests so intense, the different elements so kaleidescopic, that the mind which has not been steadied by contemplation of the past, may only too easily, in giddy haste, be attracted by some fascinating side-path, and miss the high way in its schemes to educational progress. For such a historical study of the aims and methods of the old schools, we need reprints of some of the old text-books, especially those which give the directions of the experienced teachers to their fellow teachers on the practical side of their work. I have made such constant reference to the names of Brinsley and Hoole that the reader will readily understand my plea that these should be made accessible to the modern student of the history of education. There are many others. With the new interest aroused in the subject of the training of teachers by the Registration Bill and the establishment of the Teachers' Registration Council, I cannot but think that the teaching profession will wish to have a wider margin of knowledge of the work of teaching in the past as well as in the present. My belief is that before long, a sufficient number of readers will be found ready to join a Society to bring about the issue of old significant books connected with the School, and I have the hope that this interest will not be confined to the educationist *pur et simple*, but that such a Society would also appeal successfully for support to members of the Bibliographical Society.

APPENDIX.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF EXERCISE WORK IN THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

I.—*LETTER WRITING.*

Hoole gives the first letter of Sturm's Collection as an example of his method of variation in classical epistles. It is as follows:

M.T.C. Terentiæ salutem plurimam dicit. Mark Tully Cicero sendeth hearty commendations to (his wife) Terentia.

Si vales, bene est, ego valeo.

If you be in good health, it is well, I am in good health.

Nos quotidie tabellarios vestros expectamus, qui si venerint, fortasse erimus certiores, quid nobis faciendum sit, faciemusque te statim certiorem.

We every day expect your Letter-posts, which, if they come, we shall be perhaps more certain what we are to do, and we will certify you forthwith.

Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter, vale.

Look diligently to your health, farewell.

Calendis Septembris. The first day of September.

Hoole then continues:

"You may show them how to imitate it (observing our English manner of writing Letters), thus:

To his very loving friend, Mr. Stephen Primato, at the Seven Stars near Newgate, London, these:

Amantissimo suo amico Domino Stephano Primato ad insigne Septentrionum juxta novam Portam Londinensem, has ci dabis.

Most sweet Stephen,

If you be all in good health at London, it is very well; we are all very well at Barnet. The Lord God be praised.

Stephane mellitissime,

Si vos omnes Londini valetis, optime est: nos quidem omnes Barnetæ valemus: Laudatur Dominus Deus:

I have every day expected a letter from you, for this whole week together, which if it come, is like to be very welcome to me, I pray you therefore write to me, and let me know what you do, and I will write back again to you forthwith.

Ego quotidie literas tuas, per hanc totam hebdomadem expectavi; quae si venerint gratissimæ mihi futuræ sunt; oro igitur ut ad me scribas, et certiorem me facias, quid agis, et ego statin ad te rescribam.

Give your mind diligently to learning: farewell heartily.

Studio literarum diligenter incumbe: vale feliciter.

Your most loving friend,
Robert Burrows.

Barnetæ,
Octob. 4,
1659.

Amantissimus tuus amicus,
Robertus Burrows.

The pupil is still further to frame an answer to any letter which he has written after a classical model, "observing the form of composition rather than the words."

Here is the final model:

To his very much respected friend Mr. Robert Burrows, near the Mitre at Barnet, these deliver.

Observantissimo suo amico Roberto Burrows haud ita procul à Mitrâ Barnetæ, hasce dabis.

Dear Robert,—I am very glad, I am certified by your Letter, that you and all our friends are in good health. So, I have now at last sent you my letter, which I am sorry, that I have made you so long to look for, before it came to your hand. And forasmuch as you desire to know what I do, I thought good to certify you, that I am wholly busied at my book, insomuch as I could willingly find in my heart to die at my studies, so true is that which we sometimes learned in our Accidence, *To know much is the most pleasant and sweetest life of all.* You need not therefore persuade me further to give my mind to learning which (truly to speak plainly) I had much rather have than all, even the most precious jewels in the world. Farewell, and write as often as you can to—

Your very loving friend, STEPHEN PRIMATE.

CARISSIME ROBERTE,

Quod ex tuis literis certior fiam, te, et omnes nostros bene valere, magnopere gaudeo. Ecce, nostras, jam tandem ad te misi. Quas, quoniam in causâ fui, ut diutius expectes, priusquam advos venerint, vehementer doleo. Cum autem quid ego agam, scire cupias, certiorem te facere velim, me totum in libris esse occupatum; usque adeo, ut vel emori studiis mihi dulce erit: Ita verum est, quod e Rudimentis Grammaticis olim ebibimus; Multum scire est vita jocundissima. Non igitur opus est, ut ulterius mihi suadeas, studio literarum et doctrinæ incumbere, quæ quidem (ut plane loquar) omnibus gemmis, vel pretiosissimis cupidissime malim. Vale, et literas quem saepissime mitte ad—

Amantissimum tui, ROBERTUM BURROWS.

II.—*DIVISIONS OF RHETORIC.*

"These Elementa Rhetorices in their first going over, should be explained by the Master and construed by the Scholars, and every example compared with its definition. And the scholars should ever be diligent of themselves to observe every Trope and Figure, that occur in their present authors, and when they say, to render it with its full definition, and if any be more eminent and worthy observation than others, to write it down in their Common-place book, and by this means they will come to the perfect understanding of them in a quarter of a year's time, and with more ease commit it all to memory by constant parts, saying a whole chapter together at once; which afterwards they may keep by constant repetitions, as they do their Grammar."*

The book mentioned favourably by Brinsley and so lightly passed by Hoole, that of Charles Butler, claims notice. The full title is *Rhetoricæ Libri duo, quorum Prior de Tropis et Figuris, Posterior de Voce et Gestu præcipit.* The writer of the article on Butler in the Dictionary of National Biography says that this book is not known to have been published before 1629. But the mention of it by Brinsley in the passage already quoted,† (p. 207) is sufficient evidence to prove that the book was published before 1612, and as the date of the preface is 1600, there is no reason to doubt that it was published at that date.

Butler divides his work, which is written in Latin, into two books—I, Elocution; II, Pronunciation. In Elocution he gives a full account of Tropes and Figures.

The Tropes are divided into:

A Metonymia.	C Metaphora.
B Ironia.	D Synecdoche.

* Hoole goes on to remark that when the boys have "passed" their Rhetoric, the hours thus released from the time table should go to learning Greek Grammar.

† In the edition of 1629 Brinsley's praise of the book is actually quoted in a short address to the reader placed upon the preface.

A Metonymia is :—

(α) Metonymia causæ, and includes instances of catachresis, metalepsis, allegoria, materia.

(β) Metonymia efficientis, and includes instances of metalepsis, catachresis, allegoria.

(γ) Metonymia effecti, and includes instances of hyperbole, metalepsis, allegoria.

(δ) Metonymia subjecti, and includes instances of catachresis, hyperbole, metalepsis, and allegoria.

(ε) Metonymia adjunctis—includes instances of allegoria, hyperbole, metalepsis, catachresis.

B Ironia.

(α) Ironia à disparato.

(β) Ironia à contrario. (In this there may be catachresis, metalepsis, allegoria)

(γ.) Παράλειψις. Præteritio—which may be allegoria.

(δ) Negatio.

C Metaphora, or Translatio, which includes instances of catachresis, metalepsis, hyperbole, allegoria.

D Synecdoche, or comprehensio, intellectio.

(α) Synecdoche membri, with instances of catachresis, metalepsis, hyperbole, allegoria.

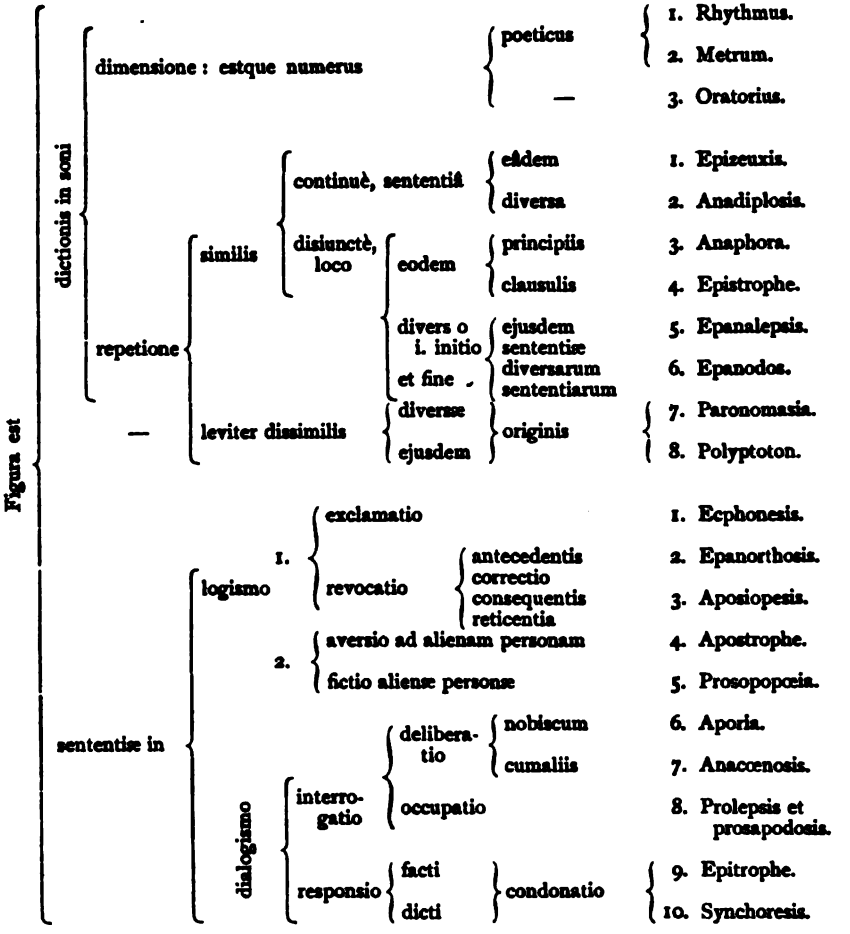
(β) Synecdoche speciei, with cases of metalepsis, catachresis, hyperbole, allegoria.

(γ) Synecdoche integri, with instances of metalepsis, hyperbole.

(δ) Synecdoche generis, with instances of catachresis, hyperbole, allegoria.

Before entering on the detailed treatment of Figures, Butler gives a synopsis of the Figures, which I here transcribe as showing the nature of the contents of the book.

Figurarum Synopsis.



The Chapters of the Second Book, on Pronunciation, take up the following subjects: De tono, sono, et prosodia; de voce singularum dictionum; de voce distinctionum; de gestu; de gestu totius corporis; de gestu capitis, frontis, oculorum; de gestu brachii, manus, digitorum; de gestu pectoris, fœmoris, pedis.

III.—*THE MAKING OF THEMES.*

For making of themes John Clarke's *Formulæ* are:

1. Narrandi sive proponendi.
2. Partiendi.
   Distribuendi vel Dividendi.
3. Confirmandi in genere.
   2. Per *Causam*, offering reasons and arguments.
   3. Contrarium.
   4. Similitudinem.
   5. Exemplum.
   6. Testimonium, citing the words of the ancients.
4. Objiciendi.
5. Confutandi.
6. Concludendi. 1. In genere. 2. In specie, through Recapitulation.
   2. Pathopœam in { exclamatione. / interrogatione. / admiratione.

Formulæ for use in Declamations:

1. Compellandi auditores.
2. Ordiendi.
   in genere:
   Insinuandi.
   Conciliandi.
   Moderandi.
   in specie:
   Benevolos faciendi a personâ auditorum et nostrâ Adversariorum.
3. Narrandi vel expondendi.
4. Confirmandi.
5. Confutandi.
6. Perorandi.

But in these divisions, declamations do not differ much from themes.

Formulæ ad Materiam:

Accusandi, Admirandi, Asseverandi, Consolandi, Consulendi, Corrigendi, Culpandi, Dehortandi, Deliberandi, Deprecandi, Dissuadendi, Dubitandi, Exclamandi, Excusandi, Hortandi, Illudendi, Guadendi, Gratias agendi, Lamentandi, Laudandi, Laetandi, Metuendi, Minandi, Monendi, Objurgandi, Obstupescendi, Obtestandi, Officium agnoscendi, Opem Offerendi, Opponendi, Petendi, Pollicendi, Precandi bene et male, Provocandi, Querendi, Reprehendendi, Rogandi, Suadendi, Vendicandi, Vituperandi.

The treatment of themes in the shortest form—called Gnome tractata brevissime, can be illustrated by the following model taken from The Latin Phrasebook of Winchester School, by H. Robinson, 1658.

FESTINA LENTE.

1. Propositio: Damnosa est in gerendis rebus nimia festinatio.

2. Ratio: Nihil enim consilio tam inimicum est, quam temeraria negotii præcipitatio.

3. Confirmatio: Sine concilio autem quicquid fit, recte fieri non potest.

4. Similitudo: Ut æstas frugibus, ita deliberandi spatium maturandis negotiis necessarium.

5. Exemplum: Fabius Maximus, ut ferunt, Romanam cunctando restituitrem.

6. Vet. Test: Noverat enim verum esse vetus illud verbum, omnia fieri sat citò si sat benè.

7. Conclusio: Bene igitur videtur consulere, qui lentè monet festinare.

Similarly treated examples are given for the themes. *Imprimus venerare Deum; Mors omnibus communis; Labor improbus omnia vincit.*

It may be interesting to include here a model for school work, which can be found in the old school text-book mentioned above.

In his edition of the *Formulæ Oratoriæ*, 1670,* Clarke gives three examples of a Theme, fully and regularly written. The subjects are:—

* The 10th edition. That a book on such a subject should run to the 10th edition is good evidence of the important position that orations took in school work.

1. Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem Testa diu (from Horace).

2. Virescit Vulnere Virtus. (See Note.)

3. Solius temporis honesta est parsimonia.

I will give one of these Themes—No. 2, as above, *Virescit vulnere virtus*, merely noting that the others are similarly constructed, similarly have the theme rendered poetically, and, finally, the theme is given in a more contracted form in each case.

Example of a Theme:—

Virescit vulnere virtus.

O prima naturæ dona, bona fortunæ universa, casu aliquo, vel iniquo fato deficiunt tandem et dilabuntur. Valetudo corporis ægritudine defluit; Milonis vires senio enervantur. Forma bonum fragile est. Helena, quando in speculo rugas conspexit aniles flevit. Exanthemata faciem devestant. Honores lubrici sunt, non diuturni. Quem Dies videt veniens supernum, hunc abiens relinquit humi jacentem. Aurei divitiarum montes liquefiunt—sic stabile est, sic constat mortale nihil!— Exord.

Dissimiliter vero prorsus contingit in animi bonis, quae voracis ævi dentibus non atteruntur, adversæ fortunæ flatibus non dissipantur, quo minus cum naufrago simul enatent. Oppugnari vult virtus, vult premi, vult in acie ac ferro, vult cum hostibus versari, inter arma crescit; sanguine non lacte educantur. Nulla vis inimica virtutem pessundat, imo vero auget, accendit, inflammat; marcet sine adversario virtus, virescit vulnere.

Sed ut dispersis nubibus in serena nocte clarius micant stellæ, pariter et hujus subobscuræ sententiæ veritas, nubeculis paraphrasi breviuscula dissipatis. Quasi igitur Poeta in aliis dixisset verbis, Animus, vera virtute imbutus, mens generosa, anima coelo oriunda, non frangitur aut debellatur ex adversis, qui obtingunt, casibus: miseriis et calamitatibus non Exposi.

opprimitur, nullius infortunii cumulis succumbit. Est inter præcipua fortitudinis apotelesmata, inter illustrissima virtutis ornamenta, gloriari in adversis, pati excelso animo injurias, despicare pericula. Heroica virtus, vulneribus non expugnatur, vulnerata non exanimatur, premi potest, opprimi non potest, vincit tandem ut cunque videtur victa, eo crescit uberius quanto deprimitur violentius.

Confir. à Causa.

Quae, quo magis in themate nostro latent, eo diligentius, ut boni venatores solent, per vestigia, sensum latantem persequimur. Et causam istius quis ignorat? Quis ignorat virtutem esse Dei progeniem, divinæ particulam aurae, florem paradisi immarcessibilem, immortalem, rutam, nunquam erutam radicitus, nec eruendam; in quam, influxum nullum, nullum impetum, nihil plane juris habent haec inferiora. Virtus consistet in actione, in acie, per medios juvat ire satellites, strictos hostium gladios non reformidat. Ignis non absumit aurum, sed defæcat. Majores subinde vires, ex vulneribus acquirit suis virtus, ut flamma ventilando dilatatur, non extinguitur.

Non impediunt lunæ cursum latrantes caniculi; nec retundunt studiosum animum aut retardant labores difficiles. Virtus, ut triticum, purgatur tribulo, ut calor ex antiperistasi frigoris sit intensior. Obscurant saepe solem caligines, sed dissipantur; franguntur aurei Proserpinæ rami, sed renascuntur; Uno avulso non deficit alter Aureus: et simili frondescit virga metallo. Sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesiæ.

Quo majorum lignorum struem igni accumulaveris, eo vehementius ardet, acuminat sese, et sursum laetius insurgit. Pleni temperantem cululli non inebriant, neque ut olim Elpenora in porcum transmutant; imo cavet magis, tanto se gerit temperantius. Virum castum ipsa Lais non pellexerit; Hippolytum Phaedra oppugnat, non expugnat—

M. Alexander generosi spiritus princeps, nec praelia, nec vulnera, nec cicatrices metuit, imo plures non esse adversarios, plures indoluit non esse mundos. Socrates, cui erat Xantippe domi (Medea non ad horam, ut in scena, sed ad vitam comes) non frangitur animo, non concutitur, quin imo ipsam porro mortam, intrepide imbrachiatur.

Sed ut contraria juxta se posita magis elucescant, conferamus paulisper Sardanapolos, Nerones, Haliogabalos, et caetera vitiorum portenta, quomodo quaeso despondebant animum in adversis, et in periculis (quasi objecto Medusae capite) exanimabantur? Animus certe vitiis inquinatus non habet sacram anchoram, cui in procellis temporum innitatur; altiorem spem, qua fulciatur, non habet. À Contr.

Ignavi à discendo cito deterrentur. Studiorum difficultate percelluntur; cum studiosi interim adolescentes, liberales artes, honestas disciplinas noctu, interdiu, per saxa, per ignes, quaque est difficilis, quaque est via nulla, sequuntur.

Quam Ego veritatem meridiano jubari prælucere faciam, et virtutem ex vulneribus acquirere Vires, demonstrabo, non secus ac vivæ saepes, quæ amputando magis denescunt. Certe Vasa culinaria, quo sæpius fricantur, eo clarius nitescunt; fontes, quo magis hauriuntur, eo magis dulcescunt; Arbores ventis agitatæ radices altius defigunt, et partes, quæ Aquilonem spectant, fortiores evadunt quam quæ Austrum: ita quæ adversantur virtuti prosunt et confirmant magis. A Simil.

Quippe, sicut ventus, si in aëre aperto erret, libertate illa, perit, ac diffunditur; si in terra penetralibus cohibeatur, ipsam movet, et cum vi evadit: ita quibus generosus ille sanguis in præcordiis concaluit, perrumpere ad æternitatem, ipsa invidia spectante, quam ire malunt: neque melius heroës, quam per nebulonum humeros, in cœlum assurgere videntur.

Ut sileam Ulyssis errores, et innumera capitis discrimina, quibus quotidie periclitabatur, et triumphabat demum redux. Ubi tua M. Cato gravitas, severitas, ac rigor? ubi pondus Stoicum, supercilium, immobile atque invictum? ubi ingens illa anima, quam libertati victimam servabas?

Atheniensis ille Jupiter Demosthenes, Philippum non metuit; imo toto eloquentiæ impetu intonuit gravi sententiarum densitate, in illum fulminavit.

Diogenes olim Antistheni, Nullum esse tam durum baculum, qui me à te abigat, dixisse fertur, dum Philosophiam disceret. Horum heroum animos non pupugerunt; nedum vulnerarunt labores, pericula, nec adversi quidpiam.

A Testi Agedum quicunque dubitas, et nostri sermonis audaciam miraris, perlustra Græciæ lumina, doctrinæ numina, Platonem, Aristotelem, etc.—percurre Romani nominis æternitatem, et in hac immortalitatis gloria sublimes, Ciceronem, Cæsarem, Senecam, aliosque infinitos intuere, qui plenis gloriam virtutis et literarum buccis ebuccinant, earumque inconcussam sublimitatem prædicant.

> Tu quoque ne metuas quamvis schola verbere multo
> Increpet; et truculenta senex gerat ora magister;
> Degeneres animos timor arguit.—

Objic. Neque adeo clam me est, complures in aliam longe sententiam abiisse, dum *ἀντόπιαι* viderint, multos ab equis ad asinos defecisse, ab umbra virtutis, in fumos, in nihil evanuisse, sperata pietas, spectata integritas, deferbuit; pristina virtus emarcuit, prius videbantur esse aliqui, sed prodiderunt se postea quam essent nulli.

Confut. Æquivoca plane virtus, quæ deficit. Vina solum languidiora vappescunt ætate, generosa evadunt fortiora.

Objic. Sed annon æquitatis studium, exilium Aristidi? studium sapientiæ venenum Socrati? integritas et patriæ salus Demostheni perniciem accersivit?

Confut. Certe. Sed Vincit qui patitur, Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest. Quem vero timere potest, qui nec mortem potest timere? quam qui spernit, mori potest, vinci nondum potest.

Conclu. Sed ut in unum omnium constingam fasciculum; Nauclerum probat tempestas; Athletam stadium; ducem pugna, magnanimum calamitas, Virtus inedia, catenis, exillo, equuleo, in ipsa demum morte vincit mortem. Rosa inter urticas, inter spinas nascitur, nec tamen laeditur: Salamandra in igne vivit, neque comburitur; Navis in profundo fluctuat, et non submerigitur. Adamas malleorum ictibus tunditur, nec tamen diffringitur. Laurus viret in hieme, cum reliquæ passim arbores, foliis suis denudantur. Sic etiam Virtus viresut vulnere.

Reinol. Orat. Quamobrem ut videmus herbam Anthemidem, quo magis deprimitur, eo latius diffundi; ut accepimus arborem palmam quo gravius oneratur, eo

fortius reniti, ut ager Narniensis (autore M. Tullio) siccitate fit humidior, ut ignis in Nymphæo (ut tradit Plinius) imbribus fit ardentior; ut Leo, si vulneretur, instat ferocius; Antæus, postquam dejicitur pugnat violentius; unguentum, cum agitatur, olet fragrantius; aromata, cum atteruntur, spirant odoratius: ita nobis studiosis faciendum est, ut in virtutis cursu, quo magis retardamur, eo magis incitemur; *si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidos feriant ruinæ.*

Ac proinde ut Sibylla olim Æneam,

> Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.
> Nam——Virescit vulnere virtus.

After the Theme, Clarke adds a poetical rendering of the subject, as follows:—

PRAXIS POETICA, IN THEMATICE—
VIRESCIT VULNERE VIRTUS.

Vivida vipereo virescit vulnere virtus,
  Collisumque tuum comprimit Hydra caput.
Herculis indomitum prostravit clava leonem,
  Geryonem triplici corpore sudit humi.
Nac te Busyrin metuit, Cacum-ve rapacem
  Tartareos-ve lacus, tergeminumque canem.
Ardua difficiles industria scandere clivos
  Novit, it ignotas ire redire iras.
Invia virtuti nulla est via; miles in arces
  Scandit, et auratas victor acervet opes.
Scilicet ut fulvum spectetur in ignibus aurum;
  Sic fortes animos magna pericla probant.
Florida difficili crescit sub pondere palma;
  Nec laurum foliis aspera nudat hiems.
Anthemidem vis nulla pedum sic supprimit, ut non
  Lætior in latam distribuatur humum.

Prima pusillanimem terrent discrimina nautam,
Commoti tumidas æquoris horret aquas:
Tempestas audere facit furibunda peritum
Nauclerum; tremulus nec ferit ossa metus.
Degeneres animos timor arguit; audet Ulysses
Intrepida trepidam mente videre necem.
Ille tuas Neptune minas, Martisque furores,
Æole crux iras pertulit ille tuas.
Multum ille in terris, multum jactatus in alto
Penelopen læto conspicit ore suam.
Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos,
Impleat ut loculos gaza cupita suos.
Nulla laboriferum remoratur opella Cleanthem,
In studiis pernox, perdius ille suis.
Macte, puer studiose, tua virtute, nec artes
Abnue difficiles; sunt Helicones opes.

Audi Musam Melanchthoniam.

Fructus amygdaleus foris est lanugine cinctus
Dura magis sub qua lignea claustra jacent.
Nucleus in medio suavis latet, atque salubris
Qui cibus est nostris et medicina simul.

The example of the contracted form of the Theme in Clarke follows after the Theme, and the poetic rendering. Logically, one would suppose that the longer form should be founded upon the shorter.

CONTRACTED FORM OF THE THEME—
VIRESCIT VULNERE VIRTUS.

Animus vera virtute imbutus, nullis infortunii cumulis succumbit, sed eo semper insurgit alacrius, quanto deprimitur violentius. 1. Propositio.

Nam cum virtus Dei sit progenies, nihil plane juris in eam habent, nullum prorsus impetum aut vim exerunt haec inferiora. 2. Ratio.

Quippe quibus est à natura vis debilior indita, quam quæ, oriundam coelitus virtutem, etiam cum est pressa opprimat. 3. Confirmatio.

Ut enim flamma ventilando dilatatur, non extinguitur: ita majores subinde vires, ex vulneribus acquirit suis virtus. 4. Similitudo.

Antæus olim, uti narrant poetæ, in terram dejectus fortior assurrexit. 5. Exemptum.

Nec quis-quam animo vere forti ac virtuoso præditus, unquam dubitet, quin ipse melior, longe ac virtuosior suis ex miseriis sit emersurus. 6. Exempli accommodatio.

Adeo verum est quod præclare Cicero, *Virtus*, inquit, *in tempestate saeva quieta est, et lucet in tenebris, et pulsa loco manet tamen, nec alienis unquam sordibus obsolescit.* 7. Testimonium.

Solius idcirco radiis videtur scriptum, nullis enervari, aut frangi fortunæ casibus virtutem, sed ex ipsis vulneribus auctiores postmodo vires indipisci. 8. Conclusio.

Quo respiciens Virgiliana illa Sibylla, Æneam oborientibus bellorum procellis extimescentem, sic hortata est. *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.*

Brinsley considered that the University was the proper place for training in orations, though he allowed orations under special circumstances in schools. But he has apparently no doubt that the school should require themes. He thinks that "children" may compose themes, "so as to be couched full of good matter, written in a pure style and with judgment, and with as much certainty and readiness as for epistles." Scholars should collect matter, and for this purpose Brinsley suggests Erasmus's *Adages*, Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata*, *The French Academy*, *Charactery*, *Moral Philosophy*, *Golden Grove*, *Wit's Commonwealth*, *Civil Conversation*, Zegedine's *Philosophia Poetica*, sentences from the list of authors adjoined to Tully's *Sentences*, *Flores Poetarum*, but chief of all, Nicholas Reusner's *Symbola*.

IV.—*ORATORICAL DECLAMATIONS.*

The following is a translation of the Latin text of an Oratorical Declamation in Clarke's *Formulæ*. It is taken from the section entitled :—

Orationes et Declamationes; habitæ in Schola Lincolniensi, coram Reverendissimis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Dignitatibus:

Necnon coram venerabili Civitatis Prætore, et Senatu benignissimis Scholæ istius compatronis, visitatoribus, in Scholæ missione Natalium. Anni 1624.

Oration of Salutation.

Address of Welcome to Visitors.

A thousand times hail, honoured visitors, whosoever you may be in this distinguished assembly, all both collectively and individually—a thousand times hail. I come unto this temple of Apollo, as a seneschal to congratulate you with words of salutation on your most auspicious presence here. Here where we are a crowd we acknowledge humbly your dignity, which commands our wonder, that you should come to look upon your humble servants. Still we have grateful minds. The reason we have requested your presence now receive in a few words.

[Not content, however, with the statement thus given in the oration of salutation, there follows an *oratio eristica*, in which an appeal is made for attention whilst a controversy shall be fought out. *Animis adeste, et favete linguis, dum prodierint isti (quos narro) Antagonistæ.*

At length we come to the disputation—which is in the hands of the defender, the opponent, and the moderator—whose speeches I here translate in full. The proposition is: Alexander plus debet Aristoteli præceptori quam Philippo patri.]

The *Defendens* speaks:

Exord. Ornatissimi Domini
Auritissimi auditores

It has been handed down to Memory that when Demosthenes the most skilful of all the Greeks was asked what were the necessary qualifications for oratory, that he answered three: first, action; second, action; third, action. By which words he wished to suggest that in oratorical action consisted the dignity of oratory. So a certain very experienced military leader answered a certain great chief that three things were especially requisite for waging war: first, money; second, money; and third, also, money. If any one asks me, what are the pillars of the ecclesiastical and political state, I shall answer; they are three. First, the school; second, the school; third, the school. So great is the necessity of schools, so great their usefulness, that if youth should be kept from them they would degenerate into monstrous wild beasts absolutely inhuman in manners, and in a word, would become frightful monsters. Nature, indeed, apart from training, is blind, and even as that great Polyphemus without an eye, or a ship would be without a skipper, or a body without a soul. The soil of the earth becomes sterile, if cultivation ceases, and the better it was by nature, the worse it becomes by neglect. The fern springs up in neglected fields and must be burnt, says Horace. It is a fit saying. Parents look to us that we become men, and teachers toil that we may be good, learned, happy and accomplished, so that not undeservedly did Alexander say that he owed more to Aristotle his teacher than to Philip his father. Whilst I am speaking on this matter, whilst I swim over this vast ocean, do you, auditors, I beg, who are present in body, give me your minds, and recall how much you owe to your teachers. For what are the teachers and doctors of youth? As is contemptuously allowed everywhere now, are they two-pence half-penny asses (triobolares asini), plagosi Orbilii, drudges of your states, purchased slaves? The Sons of the earth, the Ganeones* of to-day, stigmatise them as such, by lampoons worthy of Hipponax. Certainly this is all in vain. Nay, even as Quintilian says, there are other parents, certainly more excellent than those. We quickly lose those good things which we have received from parents. The wealth which they leave us is blown away suddenly by

Propositio

Confirmatio

* Frequenters of eating-houses.

the storms of harsh fortune; the body which we inherit from them, if it is robust, yet it is enervated by old age; if it is sound it is wasted by disease; if it is beautiful, fevers of one kind or another disfigure it; but alone the good things of the mind, such as are learning, erudition, wisdom, etc., which we derive from teachers, will remain ours, nor will they wither by disease, nor be damaged by old age, nor be subdued by the tyranny of fortune. If any one is puffed up by noble birth, if any one boasts of his ancestral blood (if he has not had instruction), these advantages proclaim him an ornamented ass. Paralus and Xantippus followed the course of nobility at Athens, as if from their father's inheritance, but because they had not had a teacher they adorned their family like moles and excrescences are accustomed to adorn the face. The Metelli at Rome were rich, but what good were their riches to them when they were so foolish and stupid that Scipio Æmilianus, as if a prophet, predicted of their mother that she would bring forth asses if she brought forth more sons. Cæsar called Junius Syllanus, wealthy man that he was—but without learning—a golden beast. And to a similar effort Aristippus declared that it is a long way better to be a beggar than to be untaught—for the former only lacks money, but the latter lacks humanity. It is bad for boys to be without education, but it is a long way worse for men to be without it, as Plato appears very justly to have said: That a man if he has had a right training is the best and most divine of all animals, but on the contrary, if he has not been well instructed, or not instructed at all, he will become the worst of all beasts.

For which cause, if we see great anxiety at the spring time of the year of the fathers of families lest the milky and soft eyes of their young should be pressed together by dripping moisture or injured by carbuncles; so as husbandmen are anxious that their trees should not be attacked by blight, nor their plants by blasts, nor their cornfields by frosts, why should it not be as incumbent on parents, that those whom God has entrusted with the singular gift to have children granted to them, they should hand them over to skilled teachers for instruction? M. T. Cicero, most sagacious of men

was displeased if he had his son Marcus detained at home (as indulgent and stolid fathers and still more stupid mothers often detain their children), and so he sent the boy off to Athens to Cratippus that he might be imbued with the precepts and instructions of philosophy. So, too, Cyrus invited Xenophon; Pericles, Anaxagoras; Timotheus, Isocrates, although they were most abounding in riches, honour and power. So, too, Aretia used to instruct Aristippus; Zenobia her sons; Cornelia, the Gracchi. And so when *that* Philip of Macedon of whom we are now speaking had his son Alexander born he did not rejoice so much because he had a son born to him, as because at the time of his son's birth, Aristotle should be living, to whom he could be handed over, for instruction.

Et premitur ratione animus, vincique laborat, Pers. Sat 5.
Artificemque suo ducit sub pollice vultum.

And hence I affirm, because teachers are said to inform boys, and if he has the beginning of the formation in hand, it must be allowed that the debt is owing to the teacher alone. Thence also they are said to polish (erudire) since as a statuary sculptor, out of the rough stones and unpolished logs, by taking away and hewing at superfluous parts he creates the statue, so that the beginning of the log or the nature of the stone can scarcely be discerned, so each literary Polycletus, out of the stupid logs and Bœotian wits of boys, shapes and elaborates them into excellent men, in an amazing way. They say that Paracelsus often declared that if anyone should be committed to him to be educated from cradle (such an one as he should choose) that he could be so treated with drugs as never to die. How far in this matter Paracelsus made good his representation I don't know, but this is more certain than certainty that teachers of literature by the happy and blessed (as they call them) medicines of knowledge will bring about the effect that we shall live an immortal life. For if life (as men live) without letters is death (as Seneca affirms), we may declare that it follows necessarily that those alone live, those alone are immortal, who are lettered. Wherefore we consider teachers in the place of parents, or even superior to them, if that is possible; let us especially love them and let us recall to

mind that the Athenians, not without reason, placed an image of Love next to that of Minerva, so that they might surely indicate how intimate an observance is due to teachers. Histories bear witness that they have had the smiles of fortune who have shown love to their teachers, and that those who have neglected or hated their teachers have been unblessed.

Exemplum.

Think of Nero, who despised Seneca and at length put him to death, then glided into other execrable crimes, and eventually laid violent hands on his mother Agrippina, his wife Octavia, his friend Antonia, and (horrible to tell) on himself. On the other hand, Trajan specially cherished Plutarch his teacher, by whose precepts, as by some cynosure, the teacher directed the rudder of his life. He was not only happy in his life and death, but afterwards, for he left this eulogium, that afterwards it was acclaimed that princes could "not be either more fortunate than Augustus, or better than Trajan."

Testim Peroration.

Thou, most pious Marcus Antoninus Pius, who hast preserved the golden images of thy magistrates in the sacred places of the Lares whose Sepulchres thou crownedst with flowers, and to whose names, as if at the mention of deities thou bent the knee, thou art a witness of this. Why, therefore, do not we, following in the footsteps of these exemplars offer our tributes to teachers? Should not we hold them more dear than parents who to a certain degree are parents of our bodies, but of our minds, which have to be fashioned anew, are not the parents. Teachers do not take upon themselves merely that we should be, but they work that we should have a satisfactory life (bene esse). Now by so much as the mind is more excellent than the body, by so much is the father inferior to the teacher. For truly the man is the mind (not that fleshy mass and figure which can be discerned by the eye or be pointed out by the finger). The mind makes use of the body as an instrument to accomplish its diverse tasks. I therefore, bringing further as it were, into one little hand, everything, whilst I live will acknowledge my greatest affection for my teacher, and I will close my oration and your ears by that attestation of duty of

Persius to his pedagogue Cornutus, in which, as in duty bound, I salute your ears, and in the deepest manner call you to witness, and avow; which I quote here:

Centenas ausim deposcere voces, Satyr. 5.
Ut quantum mihi te, sinuoso in pectore fixi,
Voce traham pura, totumque hoc verba resignent,
Quod latet arcanâ non enarrabile fibrâ.
DIXI.

In one of the margins, Clarke quotes from John Ravisius Textor—Epist. 39:—The early Kings wished their sons as little boys to be submitted to the ferules and lashes of teachers, equally with the aliens of the lowest sort or condition, and with the most ample gifts often rewarded their own instructors. So the Emperor Marcus Antoninus erected a statue to Fronto the Philosopher whom he had had as teacher. So Scipio placed a statue of Ennius on his sepulchre. So Archelaus honoured Euripides. So Trajan entering Rome in his chariot honoured Dionis Prusius with a gift. So Ptolemæus Philopater wished to dedicate a temple to Homer. So, finally, that we may pass from foreign to domestic history, Clotharius gave the dukedom of Aquitaine to Sadragosillus the schoolmaster, because he had been the pedagogue to his son.

The *Opponens* now gives his Oration:

Men truly followers of Apollo—and all of you—in this assembly gathered together.

When Pompey had promoted a certain Marcellinus to the highest honours in the state, and afterwards when he deserted the side of Cæsar in a free speech as far as he was able, he inveighed against Pompey in the Senate. Pompey grievously indignant at the ingratitude of the man that what of dignity and eloquence he had he was using against him from whom he had received his position, he stopped him in this way. "Are you not ashamed, Marcellinus, to slander him by whose favour from being mute you have become eloquent, who has led you forth from a state of hunger with the effect that you cannot hold your vomit."

With the same words, my antagonist (for ***mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur***) with the very same words (I say) I will restrain the insolent petulance of thy too nimble a tongue: Art thou not ashamed to slander thy father by whose agency thou hast thy existence, so that from birth thou hast become at length what thou now art?—

For so great deserts should not gratitude be given? Dost thou repay this gift of life by this gift of ingratitude? It is not that way with storks *'αντιπελαργεῖν*, who cherish the old age of their parents and protect their life. It should make thee greatly ashamed so to magnify the pedagogue that for him parents be made of no account. Menander teaches thee better manners.

Δίκας γραφόμενος πρὸς γονεῖς μαίνει, τάλαν.

Very many, in our days have put off all shame such as they had, and abuse their gifts of nature and eloquence in vituperation of those from whom they have their birth. They are not in this matter unlike the mule who fills himself with his mother's milk and then wheedles her by kicking her. For those children are degenerate who heap the reproaches of their ungrateful tongue on those who have laden them with benefits even *ad nauseam*. Alas! old Ascræus then must have been prophesying of the latter day manners:

αἶψα δὲ γηράσκοντας ἀτιμήσουσι τοκῆας·
μέμψονται δ' ἄρα τοὺς χαλεποῖς βάζοντες ἔπεσσι,
σχέτλιοι, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν εἰδότες· οὐδέ κεν οἵγε
γηράντεσσι τοκεῦσιν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖεν,
χειροδίκαι.

Confirm. a causa.

Many are (auditors!) many are the benefits we have received from our parents. We are bound to them by so great a debt that in no way can we ever discharge it. For why? In the first place they have given us being; they have fed us; they have brought us up. To whom of mortals except our parents, I ask, do we owe the most acceptable enjoyment of the light? Other animals from their birth right onwards suffice for themselves, for

sustaining life and repulsing injury, but nothing is more wretched than the man who, *dum oritur, moritur*, unless the care of the parents take preventive steps; who surround him with caresses, imprint kisses, wrap him in swaddling-clothes, provide him with cradles. Nor is this love extended merely to the infant, but as we grow, our parents' love increases, their labours are re-doubled. Tell us who are those who have been anxious about the preparation of our food? Who except our parents? Who break themselves with the hardest labours, who distress themselves with watchings, deny themselves enjoyment (suum defraudant genium), by little and little, eat up their smallest portions, drink drop by drop, so that they may store up our strength. As the poet says:

Λίαν γε δύσζηλοι ἐοῖς ἐπὶ παισὶ τοκῆες

O ineffable love of parents. O irrecompensible heap of benefits! O inexhaustible ocean of immeasurable goodness!—What tongue, or what iron voice could touch lightly on their care? I make no vintage (most attentive hearers) from the grapes of the few, but the universal senate of the ancients agree in this opinion. My Cicero, I call upon thy Manes, I call to witness thy sleeping ashes. Would that they might live again (I say) and bear witness what thou saidst of old and confirm it again for the present: "That we ought to hold our parents most dear, since they gave us life, they dispense patrimony, they grant liberty, they hand on citizenship." He pledges himself to what is said in Euripides: Testim.

στέργω τὸν φύσαντα τῶν πάντων βροτῶν μάλιστα.

Truly the most learned in all ages, and the most prudent have thought that this same honour should be given to parents as to the gods. I propose and give you as example that most pious Æneas, who carried his old father on his shoulder from the middle of the ruins of Troy when it was in conflagration. Do you remember whether he thought he owed more to any mortal than to Anchises? Who can sufficiently admire that daughter who did not blush with shame to give her father as to an infant the milk from her breasts when he was handed over to a guard? Who could Exempl.

worthily praise Amphinomus and Anapius who raised their parents on their shoulders and carried them through the midst of the fires of Etna at the highest risk of their lives?

You see now, auditors, how antiquity has felt filial piety to be of sanctity, how dear has been the name of parent, how many and in how great measure they have anticipated those strolling pedagogues of my adversary. You have heard what I think about parents. I don't know what you are thinking in your silence, but as for myself, I will fight with my whole strength so long as the breath animates my joints, that I owe more by far to my father than to my teacher. DIXI.

Then follows the

Moderator:

The question is: Whether Alexander owed less to his father Philip, than to his teacher Aristotle.

Benignissimi animi
Patientissimæ aures.

When Minerva came down from the high peaks of Olympus amongst the chosen sons of Dolius who were at war with the men of Ithaca and about to start a very fierce battle, it was as arbitress she came. When she had the cause of the dispute explained to her, she remained some time in anxious thought, what she should say in so passionate a quarrel, but at length (when she had taken a sufficient time for deliberation) she addressed them in this manner: "However intricate the dissension between you may be in its several points yet I shall measure off the matter in dispute on both sides by the equal Scales of Justice, inclining myself to neither side."

Similarly I who am arbiter of the dispute of these antagonists, am impelled in different ways, I am torn on a double hook (fish-hook). I have given myself up to finding the right method, and will satisfy the desire of both, and stop this fierce discussion—so I have the intention to look into the real nature of this matter, and to take the bones out of the truth of a right judgment and *ἀναρμία* and to get to the very marrow, so that at length the tempest of discussion may grow silent. Unravelling with such

sedulous industry as I may be able the catalogue of the earliest benefits which shower down from parents on their children, as it were, from the permeating bubbling-water of some fountain; I judge that children are bound by all the chains of duty and of obedience and of reverence; since they are quieted when crying out in their very cradles, by the alimony of their love (even as the lamb by the mother's milk) and at the greatest expense they are educated, and carried forward to the age of manhood. And, further, children enjoy the patrimony or dowry which parents have just been able to acquire by the great sweat of their brows.

But on the other hand, what use is food? What use a robust body? What the amplest estates if the parents have not sought out further by this wealth a pedagogue to be the father of their minds—one who may hasten the nectar-food by the feeding of learning? Or what are riches to them over and above the unpossessed treasures of Pallas? The way to enjoy these thoroughly is opened up by that gold-mine, the labour of the instructor. Therefore, rightly, Epictetus wished that sons should be left well-instructed rather than well-endowed (doctiores quàm ditiores). What are sons without culture? Dull—by Hercules! and most stupid! But if they should wish them to be distinguished, let them go to some learned Aristotle, expert and ready to correct all their faults. What horse is not tamed by a bridle? though it is fierce and unmanageable, and what young men growing up into the first flower of life are not refined by the bridle of a chaste erudition? Only the Neros and Catilines wallowing in the fetid pools of their vices! But of a truth that most sweet water which is drawn from the Pierian Schools will wash out those stains of the mind (as if with holy water). For schools alone can hold in check the ferocity of a Cyclops and correct the life of an Epicurus, and shatter the audacity of a Gigas. What I beg is the cause why you see so many dull-heads and dolts in the State? Why so many Damæ and Vappæ in the State? Surely, it is because they have not their Aristotles.

The nature of youth is very much like the stones in the stone-quarries, serving no good use unless first the artificer has applied his skill. So if you

(hearers whose ears are bathed with stinging wit), if you weigh at the same time the multifarious benefits we have received from parents and from teachers, you will agree to this judgment, that that great Alexander had very little reason for saying that he owed a greater debt to Aristotle than to his father; for if either of the two wished to institute the comparison of pre-eminence, it would be the same as comparing (to quote Seneca) the anemone with the rose, a tortoise with Pegasus.

Philip, the father was the bestower and sustainer of life, and so that he should not merely live, Aristotle made the youth a soldier in the camp of Apollo. As we see that for the bearing of ample and rich fruit, goodness of soil will not of itself suffice, unless happily over and above, be added the work of the skilled cultivator; by similar reasoning the minds of youth are not fitted to the excellency of things by force of nature nor to the acquisition of thorough learning unless some pedagogue stimulates by instruction, and permeates the youth with the genuine tincture of learning. Forthwith, he sets the plant in the ground. Hither and thither we easily bend it whilst it is growing but by no force do we pluck up its root when it gets to be a big tree; in the same way equally boys coming to manhood are as wax to be bent to what course of life you will, but growing older, they go in the same direction in which they started, nor are they moved away from the habit of their life, thus begun.

O a thousand times happy are those States in which the market places of letters are opened, from which come out the Ulysses skilled in undertaking war, polished and splendidly learned Justinians, to guard the safety of the State, by whose help impiety will be thoroughly laid low, and justice will be spread amain. Therefore the political philosophers of our ancestors write (and not undeservedly) that public and private happiness distill from schools, as if from fountains, not otherwise than from the hair of Apollo. Oh! Jupiter! How many Codroses and worse [poets] than Codros have they not made into Cæsars? How many leaden wits of boys have they not fitted for undertaking the highest duties? As it would be in vain to scatter seed, unless the field had been ploughed, so it would be in vain

that children should be born and brought up, if they were not trained by some teachers, whose virtues and learning can only be united in the ploughing of mind by labour and diligence. On which account Achilles, that bravest man of all the Greeks, was so delighted with Phœnix his teacher that he gave him half his kingdom and wished him to enjoy the same honours with himself. "Although" he said, "many gifts came to me from my father, yet from thee came by far greater and more pleasant ones." Do we not see the bear, in giving birth to its shapeless whelps, lick them into shape? Of such a sort would be the son whom a father begets did he not become wise and polished by prudence through the long continued care of some Socrates.

Yet if in this direction alone I should insist and should pass by the other, I should seem not at all unlike to Julian, who was the judge in the agrarian controversy between the Spartans and the Argives, who only discussed in relation to the law of friends, and when the just arguments as to strangers did not attract his ears, he gave the territory to his friends although due from them. But though I should blush so to violate pure justice, we must not, therefore (hearers), depreciate the reverence due to parents which we desire to be holy, orderly, inviolate; we would not diminish it, for it is the contribution of our love and duty. Let those who have refused reverence due to parents be for ever exiled from human society, and let them be thrust into the lowest caverns of Barathrus, and there let them who shall not treat parents with duty, love and attendance be harassed by furies. This much do we wish and contend for, that you recognise that for the man in his effete strength of nature, there is nothing to make him obtain strength without the midwifery help of instruction.

Who denies that offices rendered us by our parents are very great, through whom we are born and come to look upon the very sweet light of day, nor are those benefits less conferred by those who form our minds, as I judge. That saying in Euripides confirms this:

> Τὸ θρέψαι [καὶ διδάσκειν] ἐν βροτοῖσι πολλάκις
> πλείω πορίζει φίλτρα τοῦ φῦσαι τέκνα.

Who is there, therefore, of you hearers, who will not think that he is bound to his teacher with the same close benevolence as to his parents, who have given everything necessary for preserving life. For you yourselves would have had no society (contubernium) if you had not been pupils for seven years (septennales tyrones) with men who are decorated with the ornaments of glory. You, therefore, must be the brazen guard of schools and Olympiferi Atlantes, you must support them with your shoulders.

Formerly, the Persian, and later the Roman, State passed laws that fathers should educate their sons, and that uneducated men should not be admitted to the detriment of the State. Such was the *Lex Falcidia*, by which it was provided that for the first offence a boy should be admonished; for the second, struck; and for the third, flogged; and the father himself, as if a criminal, should be sent to perpetual exile should he neglect the education of his son. But we have lapsed (alas!) into folly, so that though all magnify the boughs and fruits of our trees, with positions of honour in the State; yet the roots and stems (which are the schools) very few care about. There are many amongst us, alas too many, Cyclops, Centaurs, Thersitæ, some sad and malign wits by whose wicked, sarcastic, asinine clamors, the schools themselves are flogged nowadays; who think that they lose all their time and trouble (omne oleum perdere) as long as they are at school. I will say concerning these, and I will say it boldly, that they are the intestine Catilinas of the literary Republic, who wish to darken the radiant glories of the sun (which illumine our whole State). They don't know, ignorant they don't know, that eulogy of the French concerning that Paris school, which they call *primogenitam regis filiam.*

Verbum sat—Do we not, therefore, rightly honour the sun, without which there would not be day? So should we not honour the mind, without which the body would be wasted? Should we not honour teachers, without whom we should be excluded from *humanitas* itself? I will decide, therefore, and you will agree with me, I think, it was rightly said: That Alexander owed more to his teacher, Aristotle, than to his father, Philip.

DIXI.

After the Moderator has spoken, the Laurel-bearer makes a speech, but it is not closely connected with the subject-matter of the disputation. After a preliminary description of the motherly nature of the school (puerpera illa mulier Domina Schola) the Laurel-bearer points out that this relation requires the support of parents and friends—that the school can only thus be successful *per obstetricantem vestræ patientiæ opem.* The school has shown by the voice of the boys in it that it is a progeny that is alive. Since, then, the young of the school are alive, they need a nourishing nurse to cherish and educate them. Remember, if you think these alumni whom you have heard worthy of their Academy, that it should be suited to be a nurse to the boys. The Laurel-bearer is entrusted with Laurel, a Key, and a Grammar, as the symbols of the School's functions.

The senior boy of the school is to take the laurel, bend his head and put the laurel on, take the grammar with his left hand and the key in his right hand. The Key is the symbol that the boys may enter the inner sanctuary of the temple of Apollo and the secret places of the Muses unlocked now to his (senior boy's) brethren and fallen into the lap of the nurse (which is forsooth the Alma Academia—the School). She will lead to the nutrition of the liberal Arts, and will bring the boys up to maturity on literature. "Take care," he adds, in conclusion, to his fellow scholars, "that the pains of your mother, the school which she has sustained in giving you birth, be acknowledged with grateful mind."

The proceedings were begun with a salutatory address, so the declamations end, by a valedictory address to the Maecenates, whom we ought to honour, and the rest of the assembly.

John Clarke also gives in full the Disputation for the year 1625 at Lincoln School. The subject then was *E quovis ligno non fit Mercurius.* The conclusion of the Moderator is that you cannot proceed against the grain of a pupil. For the artful bee cannot gather honey from all plants, but it pursues its quest from chosen plants. So the most skilful Cratippus cannot make a man skilled in letters, unless he is apt, docile, and capable. *E quovis enim ligno non fit Mercurius.* The construction of this Oratorical Disputation is similar to that of 1624.

Clarke gives a list of suitable subjects for oratorical compositions. It is the only list of the kind I have seen, and shows that he did not consider the examples he gives of Lincoln orations exceptional.

V.—*SUBJECTS FOR ORATORICAL DISPUTATIONS.*

The following is Clarke's list:

Quæstiones aliquot declamatoriæ.

An.

Aratoris rastrum quàm *Oratoris* rostrum expetibilius sit?
Ajaci potius quàm *Ulyssi*, *Achillis* arma deferri debeant?
Præstet esse *Achilles*, invidiæ obnoxius, quàm *Thersites* ab illâ immunis?
Rectiùs fecit *Crates*, qui *aurum* in mare projecit, quàm *Midas*, qui adeò magnifecit?
Diogenis dolium, *an Alexandri* solium expetibilius sit?
Lucretia bene fecit, quando seipsam interfecit?
Præstet *inopem* esse, quàm *impium*?
Malus sit, qui *sibi soli* est *bonus*?
—— Peragat tranquilla potestas,
Quod violenta nequit.—
Minimum libêre deceat, cui multum *licet*?
Honesta *mors*, turpi *vitæ* sit anteferenda?
Qui *ducit* uxorem, libertati *valedicit*?
Præstat *virum* pecuniâ, quàm *pecuniam* viro indigentem respicere?
Educatio publica privatæ præferenda sit?
Aurea *libertas* auro *pretiosior* omni?
Melior sit consulta *tarditas*, quàm temeraria *celeritas*?
Fortes creantur fortibus, et boni bonis?
Minus est servâsse repertum, quám quæsisse decus?
Cuivis homini contingat adire Corinthum?
Liceat *fœminis* imperare?
Magistratus *juveni* sit committendus?
—— Omnia grandior ætas Quæ fugiamus habet?

Utrum

Nulla ferunt anni venientes commoda secum?
Magnates sint magnetes?
—— Melius nil cælibe vitâ?
Nihil scire sit vita jucundissima?
Ex quovis ligno fit Mercurius?
Præstet *jejunare* cum Musis, quàm *prandere* cum Sardanapalo?
Regnorum eversio fiat, non *murierum* sed morum casu?
Seniores annis, sint saniores animis?
Martis castra, quàm *Mercurii* comitari præstet?
Præstat *nequaquam*, quàm *nequam* esse?
Actum est de *homine*, quum actum est de *nomine*?
Præstat aquam, an vinum bibere?
Plus *oneris* quam *honoris* in Magistratu?
Verna, quam hiberna melior *anni* sit tempestas?
Regi an *legi* deferendum sit judicium, *imperium*?
Poetae nascantur, non fiant?
Bona corporis sint animi mala?
Secundæ res fœlicem, magnum verò faciant adversæ?
Vincere cor proprium minus est, quàm vincere mundum?
Plus debuit *Alexander Aristoteli* præceptori, quam *Philippo* patri?
Unum in bellis *Ajacem*, quàm decem *Ulysses* habere præstat?
Tantum *sumus*, quantum *scimus*?
Utilius sit Socratem de *moribus* quàm Hippocratem de *humoribus* disputantem audire?
Sitis voluptatis parit febrem ingenii?
Magnum fit *ei* dam(n)um, cui mala fama lucrum?
Κρεῖττον ὀψιμαθῆ ἢ ἀμαθῆ εἶναι
Sæpius ad laudem atque virtutem, *natura* sine doctrinâ, vel sine naturâ *doctrina* valeat?
Dominetur regibus aurum?
Deteriores simus omnes licentia?

Christopher Smart.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF CHRISTOPHER SMART, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES.

By G. J. GRAY.

CHRISTOPHER SMART, son of Peter Smart (died 1733), was born 11th of April, 1722, at Shipbourne, Kent. He was educated at Maidstone, and afterwards at Durham School.

By the generosity of Henrietta, Duchess of Cleveland—who, until her death, 14th of April, 1742, allowed him £40 a year—he was enabled to proceed to Cambridge to finish his education. No biographers mention the fact that this annual amount was afterwards continued by the Duke of Cleveland.* That it was continued is proved by Thomas Gray's letter to Thomas Wharton, 30th November, 1747,† where he refers to the talk of the previous summer, that the allowance would be discontinued because Smart "was settled in the world," and he asks Wharton to see Mr. Vane (who acted for the Duke) to secure the continuance of the allowance, on certain conditions, as Smart would be totally ruined without it. (Gray's Works, ed. Gosse, Vol. II, p. 178).

Smart entered Pembroke Hall (now Pembroke College), and commenced residence in the University, at the beginning of the Academical year, October, 1739.

* Wm. Fitz-Roy, Duke of Cleveland, died 1774, and the title became extinct.

† See page 273.

His talent for versifying, well known at Durham, was early recognised at the University, and he was selected to write the Tripos Verses for the first time when only in his second year of residence.

1740. I.—Tripos Verses: "Datur Mundorum Pluralitas. Cantabr. in Comitiis prioribus, 1740–1."

Printed, with an English Translation [entitled "A Voyage to the Planets"], by the Rev. Francis Fawkes, in Poems, 1752 and 1791. The English version is printed in "Original Poems," by Francis Fawkes, 1761.

1741. II.—Tripos Verses: "Materies Gaudet Vi Inertiæ."

Printed, with an English translation [entitled "The Temple of Dulness"], by Fawkes, in Poems, 1752, 1791. English version in Fawkes' Original Poems, 1761.

1742. III.—Tripos Verses: "Mutua Ascitationum Propagatio Solvi Potest Mechanice."

Printed, with an English translation [entitled "A Mechanical Solution of the Propagation of Yawning"], by Fawkes, in Poems, 1752, 1791. English version in Fawkes' Original Poems, 1761.

The Tripos Verses, at this time, were issued as a single folio fly-sheet, and I have been unable to find a copy of those of any of these three years. The earliest existing specimen in this, the original form of the verses, is the one for 1732 in the University Library, Cambridge. About 1748 or 1749 the verses were printed with the Tripos lists, as continued to the present day.

Francis Fawkes was at Cambridge contemporary with Smart. He was at Jesus College; B.A., 1741; M.A., 1745; Vicar of Orpington with St. Mary Cray, Kent; Rector of Hayes, 1774; died, 1777. In addition to the Original Poems, 1761, he published other works, including a translation of The Idylliums of Theocritus, 1767, which contained a long list of names of Subscribers, amongst which are Smart, Garrick, Goldsmith, Dr. Johnson, etc.

1743. IV.—Carmen Cl. Alexandri Pope in S. Cæciliam Latine Redditum a Christophero Smart, Aul. Pemb. Cantab. Alumn. & Schol. Academiæ.

τὸ πόρσω
Δ' ἔστι σοφοῖς ἄβατον
Κ/σόφοις. οὐ μὴν διώξω. κεινὸς εἴην.
PINDAR.

Cantabrigiæ, Typis Academicis Excudebat J. Bentham, Impensis Authoris. MDCCXLIII. [B.M.]

Folio. pp. 13.

(2) V.—Carmen Cl. Alexandri Pope in S. Cæciliam latine redditum. Editio Altera. To which is added, Ode for Musick on Saint Cecilia's Day, by Christopher Smart, Fellow of Pembroke Hall in the University of Cambridge.

Cambridge, Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University, and sold by R. Dodsley, at Tully's Head in Pall-Mall, London. MDCCXLVI. [B.M.]

4to. Title + pp. 1-36. Pope's Ode with Smart's Latin translation, pp. 2–17. Smart's Ode follows, with a separate title:

"Ode for Musick on Saint Cecilia's Day, By Mr. Smart.

Hanc Vos, Pierides festis cantate calendis,
Et testudineâ, Phœbe superbe, lyrâ
Hoc solenne sacrum multos celebretur in annos,
Dignior est vestro nulla puella choro.

TIBULLUS."

with a Preface of 4 pp., then the Ode, pp. 25–36.

Published at 2*s*. Not printed in Poems 1752, but both in Poems 1791. The Latin translation of Pope's Ode is also printed in Smart's Works of Horace, 1767, Vol. II. [see No. L]. In the Library of the Royal College of Music is a copy of the Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day, set to music by William Russell. It consists only of the Harpsichord score, which was presented to the College by W. Barclay Squire, Esq. It is in a copyist's handwriting, and signed "December, 1803. T.R."

Pope, in a letter from Twickenham, Nov. 18 [1743?] writes . . . . "I ought to take this opportunity of acknowledging the Latin translation of my Ode, which you sent me, and in which I could see little or nothing to alter, it is so exact." [Smart's Poems, 1791, Vol. I, Memoir, p. x.] As the "Ode for Music" was not mentioned, it was evidently the edition of 1743 which had been sent to him. In this letter Pope suggested to Smart that he should translate his "Essay on Criticism," rather than the "Essay on Man" which he contemplated. Smart evidently acceded to this suggestion and rendered the Art of Criticism into Latin Verse, including it in his collection of "Poems," 1752.

Smart took his B.A. degree in January, and was elected Scholar of Pembroke, July, 1743; Fellow, 3rd July, 1745; and in the October following to various college posts which he appears to have lost by November, 1747, when Thos. Gray wrote the letter to Wharton, which is printed on p. 273. He held his fellowship until 1753, when he married.

1747. VI.—"A Trip to Cambridge, or the Grateful Fair."

Acted by Students of the University in Pembroke Hall, April, 1747.*

Of this mock play nothing remains but the Prologue, and a Soliloquy of the Princess Perriwinkle. The Prologue was printed in the Cambridge Journal of 19th Sept., 1747.

The Soliloquy of the Princess Perriwinkle. "The Princess Perriwinkle Sola, attended by fourteen Maids of great Honour" is printed in The Midwife, Vol. I, 1750, p. iii, as "from the Pen of my ingenious Friend, Mr. Ebenezer Pentweazel."

The "Prologue" and the "Soliloquy," with an account of the Plot, and Dramatis Personæ, "in the words of an eminent person, who was an actor in it," are printed in Smart's Poems, 1791, Vol. I, pp. xii–xvi.

. . . . "After many disappointments in attempting to get an old play-house at Hunnibun's the coach-maker's, and afterwards the Free-School in Free-School-Lane, it was acted in Pembroke-College-Hall; the parlour of which made the Green Room. The Dramatis Personæ, as far as I recollect them, were

Sir Taleful Tedius - - -	Mr. Smart, the Author.
Stiff-Rump, his Nephew - -	Mr. Grimston, of Trinity Hall.[1]
Damme-blood, Fellow Commoner of Clare-Hall - - - - -	Mr., now Dr. Cooper, Precentor and Archdeacon of Durham.[2]
Giles Fitz-Gorgon, B.A., of St. John's - - - - - -	Mr., now Dr. Gordon, Precentor of Lincoln.[3]
Goodman, of Emmanuel - -	Mr., now Dr. Madan, Precentor of Peterborough.[4]
Jerry, servant to Sir Taleful - -	Mr., now Dr. Randall, Organist of King's College.[5]
Patch, a Cobler - - - -	Mr. Bailey, of Emmanuel.[6]
Twist (I think), a Barber - -	Mr., late Dr. G. Nailor, of Offord.[7]
The gentle Fair - - - - -	Mr. R. Forester, late Rector of Passenham.[8]
Jenny, her Maid - - - - -	Mr. R. Halford, then B.A., of Pembroke.[9]
Prompter - - - - - -	R. Stonehewer, Esq.[10]"

The "Prologue" and "Soliloquy" were included in Smart's Works as printed in Anderson's British Poets, 1794.

* Cambridge Journal, No. 157, Sept. 19th, 1747.

(1) ? Jas. Bucknall Grimston, Trinity Hall, M.A. 1769, succeeded as 3rd Viscount Grimston, 1790; created 1st Lord Verulam; d. 30th December, 1808.

(2) Chas. Cooper, Trinity Coll., B.A. 1748, M.A. 1752, B.D. 1769.

(3) John Gordon, Emmanuel Coll., B.A. 1748, M.A. 1752; Peterhouse, D.D. 1765; d. 1793.

(4) Spencer Madan, Trinity College, B.A. 1749, M.A. 1753, D.D., 1766; Bishop of Peterborough; d. 8th October, 1813.

(5) John Randall, Mus.B. 1744, Mus.D. 1756.

(6) Not in the Graduati Cantabrigienses.

(7) George Nailour, Trinity Coll., B.A. 1748, M.A. 1752, D.D. 1768.

(8) Richard Forester, Pembroke, B.A. 1747, M.A. 1751.

(9) Richard Halford, Pembroke, B.A. 1741.

(10) Richard Stonehewer, Trinity, B.A. 1749; Peterhouse, M.A., 1753.

A letter from Thomas Gray (then at Peterhouse) to Thos. Wharton, dated March [1747], gives us a view of Smart at this period.

. . . "As to Smart, he must necessarily be abîmé in a short time. His debts daily increase (you remember the state they were in when you left us). Addison, I know, wrote smartly to him last week; but it has had no effect that signifies, only I observe he takes hartshorn from morning to night lately: in the meantime he is amusing himself with a comedy* of his own writing, which he makes all the boys of his acquaintance act, and intends to borrow the Zodiac† room, and have it performed publickly. Our friend Lawman, the mad attorney, is his copyist; and truly the author himself is to the full as mad as he. His piece (he says) is inimitable, true sterling wit, and humour by God; and he can't hear the Prologue without being ready to die with laughter. He acts five parts himself, and is only sorry he can't do all the rest. He has also advertised a collection of Odes; and for his Vanity and Faculty of Lying, they are come to their full maturity. All this, you see, must come to a Jayl, or Bedlam, and that without any help, almost without pity." (Gray's Works, ed. Gosse, II, 161).

Another letter from Thos. Gray to Wharton, dated November 30, 1747, shows the desperate condition of Smart.

. . . "Your mention of Mr. Vane, reminds me of poor Smart (not that I, or any mortal, pity him). About three weeks ago he was arrested here at the suit of a Taylor in London for a debt of about £50 of three years standing. The College had about £28 due to him in their hands, the rest (to hinder him from going to the Castle, for he could not raise a shilling) Brown, May and Peele lent him upon his note. Upon this he remained confined to his room, lest his creditors here should snap him; and the fellows went round to make out a list of his debts, which amounted in Cambridge to above £350; that they might come the readier to some composition, he was advised to go off in the night, and lie hid somewhere or other. He has done so, and this has made the creditors agree to an assignment of £50 per annum out of his income, which is above £140, if he lives at Cambridge (not else). But I am apprehensive, if this come to the ears of Mr. Vane he may take away the £40 hitherto allowed him by the Duke of Cleveland; for before all this (last Summer) I know they talked of doing so, as Mr. Smart (they said) was settled in the world. If you found an opportunity, possibly you might hinder this (which would totally ruin him now) by representing his absurdity in the best light it will bear: but at the same time they should make this a condition of its continuance; that he live in the college, soberly, and within bounds, for that upon any information to the contrary it shall be absolutely stopped. This would be doing him a real service, though against the grain: yet I must own, if you heard all his lies, impertinence, and ingratitude in this affair, it would perhaps quite set you against him, as it has his only friend (Mr. Addison) totally. And yet one would try to save him, for drunkenness is one great source of all this, and he may change it. I would not tell this matter in the north,

* The Trip to Cambridge.

† The "Sphere-House," described in "Memorials of Cambridge," 1880 (I., 67). It was constructed by Roger Long, who was then Master, and afterwards Lowndean Professor of Astronomy. The building was pulled down in 1871, and the model broken up (Willis & Clark's "Cambridge," 1886, I, 149).

were I you, till I found it was known by other means. We have had an opinion from the Attorney General in a manner directly contrary to the former. He does not seem to have been clear then; so that he may possibly not be so now. The King's Bench (he says) can take no cognisance of it; the visitor must do all, and he is the Vice-Chancellor by King James's Charter, which is good. This is sad indeed, and the fellows before they acquiesce in it, seem desirous of consulting Dr. Lee, who is well acquainted with college matters." (Gray's Works, ed. Gosse, II, 178).

1748. VII.—Poem: "To the King." Printed in Gratulatio Academiæ Cantabrigiensis de reditu serenissimi regis Georgii II post pacem et libertatem Europæ feliciter restitutam anno M.DCC.XLVIII. Cantabrigiæ, M.DCC.XLVIII. Folio. [Camb. Univ. Lib.

The Poem is printed on sheet Gg[1 and 2]. It is divided into three parts: (1) "Strophe," 14 lines; (2) "Antistrophe," 14 lines; (3) "Epodon," 12 lines. Signed, "C. Smart, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke-Hall."

Not reprinted, and not mentioned by Smart's Biographers.

1750. VIII.—The Horatian Canons of Friendship. Being the Third Satire of the First Book of Horace Imitated. With two dedications: the first to that admirable critic, the Rev. William Warburton, occasioned by his Dunciad, and his Shakespeare; and the second to my good friend the Trunk-Maker at the corner of St. Paul's Church-Yard. By Ebenezer Pentweazle,* of Truro in the County of Cornwall, Esq.

'Tis all from Horace.—*Pope.*

London: Printed for the Author, and sold by J. Newbery, at the Bible and Sun in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1750.

4to. Half-title, Title, + pp. i–viii (the two Dedications) + 1–19. [Dyce Library, South Kensington, No. 7856. B.M. & G.J.G.]

Price One Shilling. Printed in Poems, 1791.

In "The Midwife," Vol. II, 1751 (No. IV for July) p. 169: "As I have given Specimens of Pieces of Poetry, in which I conceived there was Merit, I am sorry to have so long neglected the *Horatian*-Canons of Friendship, publish'd by my good Friend, Mr. *Newbery*, in St. Paul's Church-yard. The Reader will find in the subsequent Extract, several good and facetious Rules for making and confirming Friendships, which I heartily recommend to the Perusal and the Practice of all those who chuse to call themselves my Friends. Mary Midnight."

* Pseudonym used by Smart in The Student (1750); The Midwife (1750); and a Satirical Dialogue (1751), (xviia.). *See also* No. LVII (p. 301).

1750–51. IX.—Contributed to "The Student, or Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany." Oxford, Printed for J. Newbery in St. Paul's Church Yard, London; J. Barrett in Oxford; and J. Merrill in Cambridge.

Published monthly—price sixpence—from January 31, 1750, to July (?), 1751, and forming 2 Volumes dated 1750, 1751. With Volume II were issued three numbers of The Inspector, consisting of 8 pages each, issued probably in Feb., March, and April, 1751. [B.M., With the Inspector. S.K., Dyce and Forster Collection (with a few notes).] This summary of current news of the world must not be confused with the essays of Dr. John Hill which he was then contributing to the London Daily Advertiser and Literary Gazette; and issued in 8vo form (pp. 78), 1751.

The British Museum Catalogue says that The Student was edited by Smart. I do not know the authority for this statement, for Smart's first contribution is in No. VI, June 30, 1750, and it was with this number that the second title was changed from "Oxford" to "Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany." The following I have identified as Smart's, and have arranged them under the signatures attached to the contributions:

MRS. MIDNIGHT.
The Miser and the Mouse. Epigram. II, 270. ¶¶

MARY MIDNIGHT.
To the ingenious authors of The Student. II, 269.

B.A., CAMBRIDGE.
On taking a Batchelor's degree. I, 348. ¶¶

MR. LUN.
Ode. The author apologizes to the lady for his being a little man. II, 26. ¶
The decision. II, 28. ¶
The pretty Bar-keeper of the Mitre, written 1741. II, 150. ¶¶
The Widow's resolution. A Cantata. I, 399. ¶¶
To Miss *****, one of the Chichester graces. II, 65. ¶

ZOSIMUS ZEPHYR.
Ode to an Eagle confin'd in a College Court. II, 356. ¶

MISS NELLY PENTWEAZLE.
The distressed damsel. I, 310. ¶ †

EBENEZER PENTWEAZLE, of Truro.
Epigram extempore on a cold poet. I, 357.

C. SMART.
A morning piece, or Hymn for the Hay-makers. I, 274. ¶
A night piece, or modern philosophy. I, 353. ¶
A noon piece, or the Mower's dinner. I, 305. ¶
Christ. Smart Samueli Saunders, Coll. Regal. S.P.D. I, 280. ¶¶
Inscriptions on an Æolian Harp. I, 311. ¶¶
Ode on the 5th of December. I, 225. ¶

Ode to - - - Dr. Webster, occasioned by his Dialogue on Anger and Forgiveness. II, iii. ¶
On seeing the picture of Miss R- - - G- - - - n. II, 354. ¶¶
On the sudden death of a clergyman. II, 393. ¶
Sweet William. A ballad. I, 273. ¶
The fair recluse. An ode. II, 316. ¶

and probably he wrote under "The Female Student," and other pseudonyms.

(Those marked ¶ printed in Poems 1752, 1791; ¶¶ in Poems 1791; † also printed in The Midwife, I, 36, as "Ballad.")

1750. X.—On the Eternity of the Supreme Being. A poetical essay. By Christopher Smart, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke-Hall in the University of Cambridge.

Conamur tenues grandia—
Nec Dîs, nec viribus æquis—

Cambridge, Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University. Sold by W. Thurlbourn in Cambridge, C. Bathurst in Fleet-street, R. Dodsley at Tullys Head in Pall-Mall, London; and J. Hildyard at York, 1750. [B.M.]

4to. pp. 13. After p. 14 (blank) is a single leaf Advertisement "Proposals for printing by subscription, A Collection of Poems, &c." (See "Poems," 1752—No. XXV.)

(2) XI.—Ditto. The Second Edition. [No quotation].
Cambridge, Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University. And sold by W. Thurlbourn in Cambridge, C. Bathurst in Fleet-street, J. Newbery in St. Paul's Church-Yard, R. Dodsley at Tully's Head in Pall-Mall, London; and J. Hildyard at York, 1752.

4to. pp. 13.

(3) XII.—Ditto. The Third Edition. [No quotation; and Smart is described as "of Pembroke-Hall in the University of Cambridge."] Cambridge, Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University. Sold by W. Thurlbourn, and T. Merrill, Booksellers in Cambridge; J. Newbery in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and T. Gardner at Cowley's Head in the Strand, London, 1756.

4to. pp. 13. Published at 6*d*.

The Seatonian Prize Poem of 1750. Printed in Poems, 1791; and in the Collections of Seatonian Prize Poems.

1750–53. XIII.—Contributed to "The Midwife: or, Old Woman's Magazine." London: Printed for Thomas Carnan, at J. Newbery's, the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

16 numbers issued, price three-pence each. Vol. I, 6 Nos. from October 16, 1750, to March, 1751; Vol. II, 6 Nos. from April to Sept., 1751; Vol. III, No. 1, Oct. 1751, to No. 4, about April, 1753.* Forming 3 Vols. dated 1751, 1751, 1753. Vols. I and II† with frontispieces "De la Riviere Inst., F. Garden Sculpt." To Volume III was added "An Index to Mankind," with its original title-page dated 1751.‡ [B.M., G.J.G.]

The following I have identified as Smart's contributions:

MARY MIDNIGHT, M. MIDNIGHT, or MRS. MIDNIGHT.

POETRY.

An Occasional Prologue. I, 39.
Song. I, 85.§ ¶
The Bag-wig and the Tobacco Pipe. A Fable. I, 120.¶
The Miser and the Mouse. An Epigram from the Greek. II, 38.¶¶
The Power of Innocence. II, 111.¶
Epigram of Martial, lib. VIII, ep. 69, imitated. II, 177.
On the Merit of Brevity. II, 234.
Care and Generosity. A Fable. II, 277.¶
Fashion and Night. A Fable. III, 46.¶¶
Epithalamium on a late happy Marriage. III, 64.¶¶
A beautiful passage in the Anti-Lucretius of the Cardinal De Polignac. III, 93.

PROSE.

The Villain. I, 22.
On Poetry. I, 32.
Some Reflections on the neglect of the Greek Language. I, 65.
To all the Empresses upon Earth, Greeting. I, 66.
Oration spoken to the Clappers, Hissers, and Damners, attending both Theatres. I, 79.
Letter to David Garrick. I, 87.
Letter to the Royal Society. . . . Cat-organ. I, 98.
To the Right Honourable the Lady ***** enclosing a poem, "What Dreams of Conquest flushed Hilaria's Breast, &c." I, 122.
Dissertation on Dumb Rhetoric. I, 145.

* Vol. III, No. 1, was evidently issued Oct., 1751; No. 2 has an article dated Nov. 15; when No. 3 was issued I cannot say; and No. 4 contains a piece of poetry written July, 1752, and a communication dated March 31, 1753. This interval of time between the issues of the last numbers may perhaps be accounted for by Smart's attack of insanity.

† British Museum copy has only one plate.

‡ See 1751, No. XXI.

§ Afterwards entitled "The Talkative Fair," in Poems, 1752.

Letter to the Society of Antiquarians . . . Petrifaction found near Penzance. I, 151.
Some Remarks on the Critics and Criticism of the Age. I, 167.
A Survey of Moorfields. I, 176.
Letter to Mr. Hoyle. I, 193.
Survey of Bedlam. I, 215, 260.
From Mrs. Midnight to the Community. I, 225.
To the Ladies of Quality. I, 228.
Dissertation on the Dignity, Benefit, and Beauty of Ugliness. I, 241.
Things to be laughed at. I, 245, II, 52.
To the Venerable Society of Antiquarians. I, 248.
Query. I, 280.
Letter to the College of Physicians. II, 17.
A Few Words concerning Elegy Writing. II, 27.
Letter to the Ghost of Alexander the Great, on the subject of Glory. II, 29.
Certificate. . . . Naturalization Bill. II, 55.
Scheme for a Bill of Annihilation. II, 57.
Letter to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital. II, 60.
To the wise inhabitants of Tring, Hertfordshire. II, 61.
To the little Elevators in Poetry who love to surprize. II, 80.
Dissertation on Perpetual Motion. II, 97.
Reflections on Matrimony. II, 99.
Laws of Conversation. II, 118.
Account of her own abilities. II, 128.
Remarkable Prediction of an Author. II, 145.
Letter, to the Keeper of the Curiosities at Gresham College. II, 151.
Concerning the Horatian Canons of Friendship. II, 169.
To the Critick and the Poets. II, 174.
A few thoughts on Family. II, 177.
The little Lighterman. II, 197.
A question to be debated by the Robin Hood Society. II, 219.
A word or two for those whom it may concern. II, 222.
On genius restored. II, 244.
Dissertation on Apparitions, Ghosts, &c. II, 259.
Solution of a Difficulty, with regard to the Fox's Tail. III, 3.
Reflections on Art. III, 8.
Lecture on Cookery. III, 27.
The necessity of keeping one's friends in one's pocket. III, 28.
To the Sons of Urania. III, 28.
Inauguration Speech. III, 37.
In defence of her own existence. III, 49.
Doctor Dove and his horse Nobbs. III, 51.
To the Critics. III, 75.
Panegyric on the Orator. III, 98.
To the Public (March 31, 1753). III, 137.

MISS NELLY PENTWEAZLE, A YOUNG LADY OF 15.
Ballad (borrowed from The Student). I, 36.* ¶

BY MY NIECE NELLY.
1st Ode of Horace, To Mecœnas. II, 164.

EBENEZER PENTWEAZLE.
Apollo and Daphne. An Epigram. I, 137. ¶
Where's the Poker? A Tale. III, 103. ¶¶
Soliloquy of the Princess Perriwinkle. I, iii.† ¶¶

MR. PENTWEAZLE.
Epigram on a woman who was singing Ballads for Money to bury her husband. I, 229. ¶¶

MRS. MIDNIGHT'S NEPHEW.
Lovely Harriote. A Crambo Song. II, 31. ¶¶

MASTER CHRISTOPHER MIDNIGHT, MY GREAT GRANDSON.
Epigram by Sir Thomas More translated: The Long-nosed Fair. II, 259. ¶¶

C. SMART.
Letter to Mrs. Midnight about the printing of his Prologue and Epilogue to Othello, both of which are printed after the Letter. I, 269.‡

UNSIGNED.
To Miss A———n. II, 36. ¶
An Epigram. The Physician and the Monkey. II, 69. ¶
The Silent Fair. A Song. II, 168. ¶
To Miss Kitty Bennet and her Cat Crop. III, 81. ¶¶
To the Rev. Mr. *** on the non-performance of a promise. III, 120. ¶¶
Ode on the 26th of January. III, 129.
The Tea-Pot and the Scrubbing Brush. III, 154. ¶¶
To the Memory of Master ****. III, 146. ¶¶
To my worthy friend T. B. III, 149. ¶¶

¶ Printed in Poems, 1752, 1791. ¶¶ In Poems, 1791.

See note to No. XXI, "An Index to Mankind," where Mr. Crossley speaks of Smart as the Editor of this periodical. On the titlepage of this work Smart, under the pseudonym of "Mrs. Mary Midnight," adds "Author of The Midwife."

(2) XIV.—A selection of the work was issued:

The Nonpareil; or, the Quintessence of Wit and Humour: Being a choice Selection of those Pieces that were most admired in the ever-to-be-remember'd Midwife; or Old Woman's Magazine. To which is added An Index to Mankind,§

* Printed in The Student as "The distressed damsel." I, 310.
† See Trip to Cambridge, 1747.
‡ See 1751, "An Occasional Prologue and Epilogue to Othello."
§ See No. XXI, 1751.

London: Printed for T. Carnan, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1757.

Fcp. pp. 230 + Title of "Index to Mankind," + ii—68. [B.M., G.J.G.]

1751. XV.—An Occasional Prologue and Epilogue to Othello, As it was acted at the Theatre Royall in Drury-Lane, on Thursday the 7th of March 1751, by Persons of Distinction for their Diversion. Written by Christopher Smart, A.M., Fellow of Pembroke-Hall, in the University of Cambridge.

London: Printed for the Author; and sold by Thomas Carnan, at Mr. Newbery's, at the Bible and Sun in St. Paul's Church-yard. [B.M.]

Folio. Title, Dedication [to Francis and John Delaval Esq^rs] + pp. 5-8.

At the back of the title is printed, "This pamphlet is enter'd in the Hall Book of the Company of Stationers, and whoever presumes to pirate it, or any part of it will be prosecuted as the Law directs."

(2) XVI.—Ditto. The Second Edition, 1751. Folio [same as first edition]. [B.M.]

(3) XVII.—Ditto. The Third Edition, 1751.

[Advertised in The London Daily Advertiser and Literary Gazette, 22 June, 1751.]

Printed in The Midwife, No. VI, March 16, 1751 (Vol. I, p. 271), and in Poems, 1752, 1791.

1751. XVII*a*.—A Satirical Dialogue between A Sea Captain and his Friend in town: humbly addressed to the Gentlemen who deform'd the Play of Othello, on Th--rs--y, M---- the 7th, 1751, at the Th—tre R-y-l, in Dr—y L-ne: to which is added, A Prologue and Epilogue, much more suitable to the occasion than their Own.

Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam.

London: Printed for, and Sold by J. River, under St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-street. [Price Sixpence.] [B.M.]

Folio. 8 pp. Title, A more suitable, Occasional Prologue by Ebeneazer Pentweazel, + A Satirical Dialogue, pp. 5-8.

I do not find this work mentioned anywhere. Is it by Smart? In 1750 he issued the "Horatian Canons of Friendship" under the pseudonym of Ebenezer Pentweazle (see No. VIII), and contributed to both The Student and The Midwife under that name; see also note to No. VI.

The Prologue begins:

WHILE *heedless Fops* affecting to be Sage,
With *awkward Attitudes* Disgrace the *Stage*;
Ours be the task to paint the *Simple Elves*,
And shew the Race of *Triflers* in *our Selves*.

The original "Occasional Prologue" (see No. XV) begins:

"WHILE mercenary actors tread the stage,
And hireling scribblers lash or lull the age,
Our's be the task t'instruct, and entertain,
Without one thought of glory or of gain."

1751. XVIII.—A Solemn Dirge, Sacred to the Memory of His Royal Highness Frederic Prince of Wales, As it was Sung by Mr. Lowe,* Miss Burchell, and others at Vaux-hall. Written by Mr. Smart. The Music compos'd by Mr. Worgan, M.B.†

London: Printed for T. Carnan, at Mr. Newbery's, in St. Paul's Church-yard. M.DCC.LI. Price Six-Pence. [B.M.]

Folio. Title, Dedication [to Prince George] + pp. 5-8.

(2) XIX.—Ditto. The Second Edition, 1751.

(3) XX.—Ditto. The Third Edition, 1751.

[Advertised in The London Daily Advertiser and Literary Gazette, 22 June, 1751.] Frederic Prince of Wales d. March 20, 1751. This has not been reprinted.

1751. XXI.—An Index to Mankind: or Maxims Selected from the Wits of all Nations, For the Benefit of the *Present Age*, and of *Posterity*, By Mrs. Mary Midnight,‡ Author of the *Midwife*, or *Old Woman's*

* Thos. Lowe, a favourite tenor singer, then at Vauxhall Gardens. See Grove's Dict. of Music.

† John Worgan, Mus.D. (Camb.), b. 1724, d. 1794. See Grove's Dict. of Music. See also No. XLVI

‡ See The "Student," 1750-1; The "Midwife," 1750-3.

The British Museum has also the following works by Mary Midnight:

Mother Midnight's Miscellany, etc. London, 1751. 8vo.

The so-much talk'd of . . . . Old Woman's Dunciad, or Midwife's Master-Piece [in verse]. By Mary Midnight. With historical, critical, and explanatory notes by Margelina Scribelinda Macularia. London, 1751. 4to. [See note to No. XXVIII.]

Mrs. Midnight's Orations; and other select pieces; as they were spoken at the Oratory in the Hay-market, London. London, 1763. 8vo.

Had Smart any connexion with these, which I have not had the opportunity of examining? I may mention, incidentally, that "Mrs. Midnight" (acted by Mrs. Haycock) was one of the characters in Henry Fielding's play, "Miss Lucy in Town," produced at Drury Lane, 5 May, 1742 ("Fielding's Life," Lawrence, 1855, p. 167).

Magazine. Intermix'd with some Curious Reflections by that Lady, and a Preface by her good Friend, the late Mr. Pope.

London, Printed for T. Carnan, at Mr. Newbery's, the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1751.

Fcp. 8vo. Title, Pope's Preface, Contents [8 pp.] + 70 + 2 unpaged + 4 ("Books printed for J. Newbery").

Pope's Preface is "Blessed is the Man who expects nothing, for he shall never be disappointed. A. Pope."

Amongst the books printed for J. Newbery is "The Student," Vol. I. As Vol. II was completed with the July number of 1751, this "Index" was therefore issued before July.

This little work is nowhere described as by Smart, neither is it mentioned amongst the publications of Newbery, printed in Welsh's Life of Newbery, 1885. Mr. James Crossley in Notes and Queries (3rd Ser. IV, 254) says that the probability is that it was collected by Newbery who was fully equal to such a performance "without calling in any higher power," yet a few lines previously he had stated that "the editor [of The Midwife] was the unfortunate Christopher Smart; and he "and Newbery were almost the sole writers in it."

It was also issued with Vol. III of "The Midwife," 1753, and also reprinted with a selection from that magazine, "The Nonpareil," 1757 (see Nos. XIII and XIV).

1751. XXII.—On the Immensity of the Supreme Being. A Poetical Essay. By Christopher Smart, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke-Hall in the University of Cambridge.

Cambridge, Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University. Sold by W. Thurlbourn in Cambridge, C. Bathurst in Fleet-street, J. Newbery in St. Paul's Church-yard, London; and J. Hildyard at York, 1751.

4to. pp. 13. [B.M.]

(2) XXIII.—Ditto. The Second Edition.

Cambridge, etc., as before, with the addition of "R. Dodsley at Tully's Head in Pall Mall, London. 1753."

4to. pp. 13. Published at 6*d*.

(3) XXIV.—Ditto. The Third Edition.

London; Printed for the Author; and sold by J. Newbery, at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1756.

4to. pp. 13.

The Seatonian Prize Poem, 1751. Printed in Poems, 1791; and in the collections of Seatonian Prize Poems.

During this year he was also contributing to "The Student" and "The Midwife."

In Thos. Gray's Works (ed. Gosse, II, 215) is a letter from him to Horace Walpole, dated from Cambridge, October 8, 1751: "We have a man here that writes a good hand; but he has little failings that hinder my recommending him to you. He is lowsy, and he is mad, he sets out this week for Bedlam; but if you insist upon it, I don't doubt he will pay his respects to you."

1752. XXV.—Poems on Several Occasions. By Christopher Smart, A.M. Fellow of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge.

—— nonumque prematur in annum.—*Hor.*

London: Printed for the Author, by W. Strahan; and Sold by J. Newbery, at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1752.

4to. Title, and Dedication (to the Earl of Middlesex) 2 pp. + List of Subscribers, 10 pp. + Errata, 1 p. + 1 blank, + 1–230. Camb. Univ. Library (with addition). Advocates Library. South Kensington. B.M.

With 2 Plates:—I. "The Mowers at Dinner," drawn by Thos. Worledge, 1751.
II. "Hop Garden," drawn by F. Hayman, engraved by C. Grignion.

Contents:—Two Odes: I. On Good Nature.
II. Against Ill Nature.
The Pretty Chambermaid.
Idleness.
The Judgment of Midas: A Masque.
Epithalamium.
To Ethelinda.
De Arte Critica.*
The Hop Garden. A Georgic.
A Latin Version of Milton's L'Allegro.
Ballads:
The Lass with the Golden Locks.

and those mentioned, Nos. I–III, IX, XIII, XV. "The Force of Innocence" was printed in "The Student" as "The Power of Innocence"; "The Talkative Fair," printed in "The Midwife" (I, 85) without a heading, but with this explanation: "The following Song, which was sent us by a Male Correspondent, is evidently intended to affront our Sex; and therefore it should not have been inserted, but that we are promised an Answer to it for our next Magazine, by a Lady of great Distinction." The reply was the Ballad, "The Silent Fair," by Smart ("Midwife," II, 168), also printed in this volume.

* A Latin translation of Pope's Essay on Criticism. See Note to IV and V.

A copy of this work in the Cambridge University Library (Syn. 4, 75, 3) has a slip inserted between pp. 76 and 77 (De Arte Poetica) with the following lines printed:

O Master of the Heart! whose magic Skill
The Close Recesses of the Soul can find,
Can rouse, becalm, and terrify the Mind,
Now melt with Pity, now with Anguish thrill;
Thy moral Page while vertuous Precepts fill,
Warm from the Heart, to mend the Age design'd,
Wit, Strength, Truth, Decency, are all combin'd
To lead our Youth to Good, and guard from Ill.
O long enjoy what thou so well hast won,
The grateful Tribute of each honest Heart,
Sincere, now hackney'd in the Ways of Men;
At each distressful Stroke their true Tears run;
And Nature, unsophisticate by Art,
Owns and applauds the Labours of thy Pen.

Anderson in the Life of Smart, in Works of British Poets, 1794, Vol. XI, calls attention to the eminently happy description of Labour as

Strong Labour got up—with his pipe in his mouth,
He stoutly strode over the dale, etc.,

which lines were misprinted in this edition

Strong Labour got up with his pipe in his mouth,
And stoutly, etc.

The correction was advertised immediately after its publication, but the blunder has been retained in the edition of 1791.

This work was advertised in the General Evening Post of 4 August, 1750; the advertisement is printed in Welsh's Life of Newbery (p. 307), and earlier in the year in Smart's "Eternity of the Supreme Being," 1750, to be issued to Subscribers at half-a-guinea.

The volume is the subject of a chapter on Smart's Poems, in E. W. Gosse's Gossip in a Library, 1892.

All the Poems reprinted in Poems, 1791.

1752. XXVI.—On the Omniscience of the Supreme Being. A Poetical Essay, By Christopher Smart, M.A. Fellow of Pembroke-Hall in the University of Cambridge.

Cambridge. Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University. Sold by W. Thurlbourn in Cambridge, C. Bathurst in Fleet-street, J. Newbery in St. Paul's Church-yard, R. Dodsley at Tully's Head in Pall-Mall, London; and J. Hildyard at York. 1752. [B.M.]

4to. Title + pp. 1–16. Dedicated, "To the most reverend His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Published at 6*d*.

(2) XXVII.—Ditto. The Second Edition.

Cambridge, Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University. Sold by W. Thurlbourn, and T. Merrill, Booksellers in Cambridge; J. Newbery in St. Paul's Church-yard, and T. Gardner at Cowley's Head in the Strand, London. 1756. [B.M.]

4to. Title + pp. 1–16. Dedication as in first edition.

On the Title-page Smart is described as "of Pembroke-Hall," etc., "Fellow" being omitted. Published at 6*d*.

The Seatonian Prize Poem of 1752. Printed in Poems, 1791, and in the collections of Seatonian Prize Poems.

A second edition of the "Eternity of the Supreme Being" was issued this year. (See No. XI.) If Smart contributed to "The Midwife" this year it was to the 3rd number of Vol. III, though I cannot say whether this number was issued in 1752 or 1753.

1753. XXVIII.—The Hilliad: an epic poem. By C. Smart, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke-Hall, in the University of Cambridge. To which are prefixed, Copious Prolegomena and notes variorium. Particularly, those of Quinbus Flestrin, Esq.; and Martinus Macularius,* M.D., Acad. Reg. Scient. Burdig. &c., &c.

—— Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
Immolat, et pœnam scelerate se sanguine sumit.—*Virg.*

London. Sold by J. Newbery, in St. Paul's Church-yard; and M. Cooper in Pater-Noster Row. 1753. [Free Library, Cambridge. B.M.]

Half-title, Title, + "A Letter to a Friend at the University of Cambridge," signed Christopher Smart, dated from London, 15 Dec., 1752, pp. iii–v. "Reply," unsigned, but dated from Cambridge, 21 Dec., 1752, pp. v–ix. "Prolegomena" containing "An accurate and impartial state of the account between Mr. Smart and Dr. Hill," pp. 1–18 + The Hilliad, 19–45.

Published at 6*d*. See Welsh's "Life of Newbery," pp. 31–33.

(2) XXIX.—Another Edition. Title as given.

* It is worth noting that the Old Woman's Duncíad, by Mary Midnight, 1751 (see Note to XXI), contains historical, critical, and explanatory notes by Margelina Scribelinda Macularia."

Dublin: Printed for G. Faulkner in Essex-street, and J. Exshaw on Cork-Hill, 1753. [Advocates' Library.]

12mo. Contents as in previous edition, pp. [xii] + 1–19, 20–27.
Printed in Poems, 1791.

A second edition of the "Immensity of the Supreme Being" was published this year (see No. XXIII), and he contributed to "The Midwife."

During 1753 Smart married Anna Maria Carnan, daughter of Mary, the wife of John Newbery, the publisher, and left Cambridge.

As to this the story told is that when in November the College discovered the marriage, Smart was threatened with serious consequences; but eventually on condition of his continuing to write for the Seatonian Prize, it was settled that his fellowship should be extended. (Dict. of Nat. Biog.) As fellowships then could not be held by married men it is hardly conceivable that the College authorities would act contrary to their statutes, and for the glory of one of their members gaining the Seatonian Prize! However, although Smart gained the prize for the three preceding years, he failed in 1754, if indeed he entered for it. He gained it again in 1755 (No. XXXIII). After 1753 he no longer describes himself as fellow of Pembroke Hall; and his connexion with Cambridge ceased.

1754. XXX.—On the Power of the Supreme Being. A poetical Essay. By Christopher Smart, M.A., of Pembroke Hall, in the University of Cambridge.

Cambridge, Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University. Sold by W. Thurlbourn in Cambridge, C. Bathurst in Fleet-street, and J. Hildyard at York, 1754. [B.M.]

4to. pp. 13 + 1 leaf of "Books written by Mr. Smart." Price 6*d*.

(2) XXXI.—Ditto. The Second Edition.

London: Printed for J. Newbery in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1758.

4to. pp. 13.

The Seatonian Prize Poem of 1753. Printed in Poems 1791, and in the collections of Seatonian Prize Poems.

1756. XXXII.—Contributed to The Universal Visitor.

This year he entered into an engagement with Gardner, the bookseller, to furnish papers monthly in conjunction with Mr. Rolt for the *Universal Visitor*, a memorable example of thoughtless imprudence. It was settled between the publisher and the poets that these last should divide between them one-third of the profits of the work, and they engaged themselves moreover by a bond, not to write for ninety-nine years to come in any other publication. (Life in Poems, 1791. I, xxix).

The writer in the Dictionary of National Biography speaks of this as a "somewhat apocryphal story." But Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson, rather corroborates the previous statement, for (Globe Edition, p. 300) Johnson is quoted as saying "Old Gardner the bookseller employed Rolt and Smart to write a monthly miscellany, called 'The Universal Visitor.' There was a formal written contract, which Allen the printer saw . . . They were bound to write nothing else; they were to have, I think, a third of the profits of his sixpenny pamphlet; and the contract was for ninety-nine years. I wish I had thought of giving this to Thurlow, in the cause about Literary Property. What an excellent instance would it have been of the oppression of booksellers towards poor authors! Davies, zealous for the honour of *the Trade*, said, Gardner was not properly a bookseller. Johnson: 'Nay, Sir; he certainly was a bookseller. He had served his time regularly, was a member of the Stationers' Company, kept a shop in the face of mankind, purchased copyright, and was a bibliophile, Sir, in every sense. I wrote for some months in 'The Universal Visitor,' for poor Smart while he was mad, not then knowing the terms on which he was engaged to write, and thinking I was doing him good. I hoped his wits would soon return to him. Mine returned to me, and I wrote in 'The Universal Visitor' no longer."

To this Boswell added a note "There has probably been some mistake as to the terms of this supposed extraordinary contract, the recital of which from hearsay afforded Johnson so much play in his sportive acuteness. Or if it was worded as he supposed, it is so strange that I should conclude it was a joke. Mr. Gardner, I am assured, was a worthy and liberal man."

It was in 1756 that Johnson wrote a few essays for this periodical.—(Boswell's Johnson, p. 102.)

From the following extract from Forster's Life and Times of Goldsmith, 2nd ed., 1854, p. 407, it would appear that Johnson's remarks were made to Goldsmith, whereas Boswell says they were made when dining with Thomas Davies, along with Mr. Hickey, Mr. Moody, and himself:

"Gardener . . . . who had gone to Kit Smart in the depths of his poverty, and drawn him into the most astounding agreement on record. It was not discovered till poor Kit Smart went mad, and Goldsmith had but to remember *how* it was discovered, to forgive all the huffing speeches that Johnson might ever make to him!" [see quotation from Boswell's Johnson]. "It was a sixpenny weekly pamphlet; the agreement was for ninety-nine years; and the terms were that Smart was to write nothing else, and be rewarded with one-sixth of the profits! It was undoubtedly a thing to remember, this agreement of old Gardener's. The most thriving subject in the kingdom of the booksellers could hardly fail to recall it now and then."

The first number was published February 2 (see advertisement in Smart's Goodness of the Supreme Being, 1756, No. XXXIII); and the work is supposed to have collapsed before 1759 (Dict. of Nat. Biog.).

Whether this agreement was made or not, we have the fact that whilst the "Universal Visitor" appeared, Smart only issued his "Hymn to the Supreme Being," 1756 (No. XXXVI), which might have been written during that time. His Works of Horace, and Goodness of the Supreme Being, both issued the same year, being written and arranged for before the contract with Gardner.

1756. XXXIII.—On the Goodness of the Supreme Being. A poetical Essay. By Christopher Smart, M.A., of Pembroke-Hall, in the University of Cambridge.

Cambridge, Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University. Sold by W. Thurlbourn, and T. Merrill, Booksellers in Cambridge; J. Newbery in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and T. Gardner at Cowley's Head in the Strand, London. 1756. [B.M.]

4to. pp. 14. Dedicated to the Earl of Darlington. Published at 6*d*.

After p. 14 is an advertisement of Smart's Works, and this announcement: "On Monday, Feb. 2 was published No. 1 of The Universal Visitor, and Monthly Memorialist."

(2) XXXIV.—Ditto. The Second Edition. 1756.

4to. Same as the first edition.

The Seatonian Prize Poem of 1755. Printed in Poems 1791, and in collections of the Seatonian Prize Poems.

1756. XXXV.—The Works of Horace, Translated Literally into English Prose; For the Use of those who are desirous of acquiring or recovering a competent knowledge of the Latin Language. By C. Smart, A.M. of Pembroke-College, Cambridge.

London. Printed for J. Newbery, at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCLVI. [B.M., Bodleian Library.]

2 Vols. 12mo. Vol. I, pp. vi and 333. II, pp. 424. Printed with the Latin text on one page, and the English Prose translation on the opposite page, with notes at the bottom of each page.

In the first volume is this "Advertisement. In the Press, and speedily will be published, (In One Octavo Volume) Tales and Fables in Verse Adapted to People of all Ranks, and adorned with Cuts, designed and engraved by the best Masters. By C. Smart, A.M. of Pembroke-College, Cambridge."

I cannot find that this work was ever published; unless it is the "Fables in Verse for the improvement of young and old, by Abraham Æsop, Esq." first edition N.D. 2nd 1758 (see Welsh's Life of Newbery, p. 215).

It is difficult to find the various editions of this work, and I give a list of editions as far as I have found them.

(2) The Second Edition. 2 Vols. Same imprint MDCCLXII. [B.M.]

(3) The Third Edition. 2 Vols. [B.M.]
London, Printed for Carnan & Newbery, at No. 65, in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCLXX.

(4) The Fourth Edition.

(5) The Fifth Edition.

(6) The Sixth Edition, 1790.

Other Editions:

(7) Dublin: Printed for A. Leathley, H. Saunders, E. Lynch, W. Whitestone, S. Watson, and T. & J. Whitehouse, Booksellers. 1772. 2 Vols. 12mo. [B.M.]

(8) Edinburgh: Printed for J. Cafrae, Drummond & Co. 1815. 2 Vols. 12mo. [B.M.]

(9) Edinburgh: Published by Stirling & Slade, 1818. 2 Vols.

(10) Edinburgh. A New Edition, carefully corrected, with a Life of the Translator by Robert Anderson, M.D.
Edinburgh: Published by Stirling & Kenny; J. Farbairn, Edinburgh; G. Cowie & Co., T. & G. Allman, London; H. Mozley, Derby; and J. Cumming, Dublin, 1827. 2 Vols. 12mo. [B.M.]

(11) Same Edition. Edinburgh: Stirling, Kenny & Co., etc. 1836. 2 Vols. Fcp. 8vo. [G.J.G.]

(12) The Translation was issued by Bohn, revised by T. A. Buckley. 1849 (?).

Most probably there are other editions.

An interesting letter from Dr. John Hawkesworth to Mrs. Hunter, one of Smart's sisters, dated October, 1764, is printed in the Life preceding the Poems (1791, pp. xxiii-xxvi).

He writes that Smart "is now busy in translating all Horace into verse, which he sometimes thinks of publishing on his own account, and sometimes of contracting for it with a bookseller; I advised him to the latter, and he then told me that he was in treaty about it, and believed it would be a bargain; he told me his principal motive for translating Horace into verse, was to supersede the prose translation which he did for Newbery, which he said would hurt his memory. He intends however to review that translation, and print it at the foot of the page in his poetical version, which he proposes to print in quarto with the Latin, both in verse and prose, on the opposite page; he told me he once had thoughts of printing it by subscription, but as he had troubled his friends already, he was unwilling to do it again, and had been persuaded to publish it in numbers, which, though I rather dissuaded him. seemed at last to be the prevailing bent of his mind: he read me some of it: it is very close, and his own poetical fire sparkles in it very frequently. Yet, upon the whole, it will scarcely take place of Francis's, and therefore, if it is not adopted as a school book, which perhaps may be the case, it will turn to little account. Upon mentioning his prose translation, I saw his countenance kindle, and snatching up the book, 'what, says he, do you think I had for this?' I said I could not tell, 'why,' says he, with great indignation, 'thirteen pounds.' I expressed very great astonishment, which he seemed to think he should increase by adding, 'but, Sir, I gave a receipt for a hundred;' my astonishment however was now over, and I found that he received only thirteen pounds because the rest had been advanced for his family; this was a tender point, and I found means immediately to divert him from it."

The complete edition of Horace will be found under 1767 (No. L.)

1756. XXXVI.—Hymn to the Supreme Being, on Recovery from a dangerous Fit of Illness. By Christopher Smart, M.A.

London. Printed for J. Newbery, in St. Paul's Churchyard. MDCCLVI. [B.M.]

4to. pp. 16. Dedicated to Dr. James.* Price 6*d.*

Printed in Poems, 1791.

This year were issued the 3rd Editions of his "Eternity of the Supreme Being" (No. XII); and "Immensity of the Supreme Being" (No. XXIV); and the 2nd Edition of the "Omniscience of the Supreme Being" (No. XXVII).

1757. The Nonpareil published. (See No. XIV.)

1758. Second Edition of the "Power of the Supreme Being" published (No. XXXI).

* Robert James, M.D. (b. 1703; d. 1776), ed. St. John's College, Oxford. Admitted Doctor of Physic at Cambridge, June 25, 1755. Distinguished for his preparation of a celebrated fever-powder, to which Smart owed his recovery, and hence this Hymn.

1759. XXXVII.—Benefit at Garrick's Theatre in January.

"By David Garrick. The Guardian, a comedy in two Acts, performed at Drury lane, 8vo, 1759. This was performed the first time for the benefit of Christopher Smart, a very agreeable but unhappy poet, then under confinement. It was taken in a great measure from the celebrated 'Pupille' of Mons. Fagan."—Bibliographical Notes, ed. A. C. Bickley, 1889 (p. 210), in Gentleman's Magazine Library, ed. G. L. Gomme.

"Poor Smart is not dead, as was said, and *Merope*[1] is acted for his benefit this week, with a new farce, *The Guardian*[2]." — Gray to Mason, Jan. 18, 1759 (Gray's Works, Gosse II, 390).

"(1) by Aaron Hill, and acted 1749.

"(2) by Garrick, acted 1759, in two acts, and taken in a great measure from the *Pupille* of Fagan."

1762. Second Edition of Works of Horace in English Prose published (No. XXXV).

1762 or 3.

"He (Goldsmith) had also some share in the *Martial Review or General* History of the late War, the profits of which Newbery set apart for his luckless son-in-law, Kit Smart."—(Forster's Goldsmith, 2nd ed., 1854, I, 324.)

1763. XXXVIII.—Proposals for Printing, by Subscription, A New Translation of The Psalms of David. To which will be added, A set of Hymns, for the Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England.

By Christopher Smart, M.A. [B.M.]

Dated, London, September 8, 1763.

4to. 4 pp. After the heading, occupying three-fifths of the first page, are the "Conditions," and by whom Subscriptions are received, then follow specimens of the work; Psalms XLV and CXLVIII.

Reprinted in "A Song to David," 1763 (No. XXXIX). See 1765 (No. XLIX) for the work as published.

1763. XXXIX.—A Song to David. By Christopher Smart, A.M.

(Quotation from 2 Sam. xxiii, 1, 2.)

London: Printed for the Author; and Sold by Mr. Fletcher, at the Oxford Theatre, in St. Paul's Church-yard; and by all Booksellers in Town and Country. MDCCLXIII. Price One Shilling. [Dyce Library, South Kensington.]

4to. Title, on the back of which is the Contents, signed in ink, "Christopher Smart," + pp. 1–12. At the end is an advertisement:

"This Day is published, Proposals for Printing, by subscription 'A New Translation of the Psalms of David,' etc. (as given No. XXXVIII). After the list of booksellers' names is, "and by C. Say, Printer, in Newgate Street, who has the copy in his possession. Each book will be signed by the Author."

(2) XL.—A Song to David. By the late Christopher Smart, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; and Prose Translator of Horace.

(Quotation from 2 Samuel xxiii, 1, 2).

London: Printed [by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square] for Rodwell and Martin, New Bond Street, 1819. [Camb. Univ. Library. B.M.]

Fcp. 8vo., Title and Advertisement, pp. 1, 2; Extracts respecting Smart's Song to David [from Anderson's Poets, Chalmers' Poets, and Quarterly Review] pp. 3, 4; Argument, 5, 6; Song to David, 7–50; Notes, 51–55.

According to Gosse, this reprint was edited by the Rev. R. Harvey. The Advertisement states that the rarity of the work is the only explanation for its being reprinted.

(3) XLI.—A Song to David. By Christopher Smart, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.

London: David Stott, 370, Oxford Street, W. 1895. [Printed by A. Stewart & Co., St. Mary's Press, Paddington, W.]

16mo., pp. viii + 45. Prefatory Note signed "F. H. D." and "H. C. M."

(4) XLII.—A Song to David, by Christopher Smart. Edited, with Notes, etc., by J. R. Tutin.

London: William Andrews & Co. 1898.

Fcp. 8vo., pp. x + 11–51. Prefatory Note by J. R. Tutin, Hull, March 19, 1897, pp. vii–x; Song to David, 11–41; Biographical Note, 43, 44; Notes to the Poem, 45, 46; Scripture References, 47, 48; Index to Proper Names, 48; Bibliographical List of the Writings of Christopher Smart, 49–51.

(5) XLIII.—A Song to David, by Christopher Smart. With an Introduction by R. A. Streatfeild.

London: Elkin Mathews, 1901.

Fcp 8vo. pp. 35. Half-title and Title, Introduction, pp. 5–13, A Song to David, pp. 14–34, Author's Notes, p. 35.

Not included in the collected Poems of 1791. The Editor mentions this and others which "were written after his confinement, and bear for the most part melancholy proofs of the recent estrangement of his mind. Such poems however have been selected and inserted, as were likely to be acceptable to the Reader."

It was printed in Smart's Translation of the Psalms, 1765; and is printed entire in Gilfillan's Less Known British Poets, 1860, Vol. III. Selections are printed in Anderson's Works of the British Poets, 1794; Chambers' Cyclopædia of English Literature, etc. Anderson would have reprinted the whole of the Song, but could not obtain a copy to print from.

The following advertisement and notice of the first edition was printed in "Poems on Several Occasions." (See 1763–4, No. XLV):

"Lately published, and written by
Christopher Smart,
And Sold by Mr. Fletcher and Co: in *St. Paul's Church-yard*; and Mr. Laurence,
Stationer, near *Durham Yard*, in the *Strand*. (Price 1*s*.)

A SONG TO DAVID.

Being a Poem composed in a Spirit of affection and thankfulness to the great Author of The Book of Gratitude, which is the *Psalms* of David the King.—'Let us *now* praise famous Men, and our Fathers that begat us—such as found out Musical Tunes and recited Verses in Writing.'—Eccles. xliv. This Song is allowed by Mr. *Smart's* judicious Friends and enemies to be the best Piece ever made public by him, its chief fault being the exact Regularity and Method with which it is conducted. Notwithstanding all this be the very Truth, we read the following Observations in a *scurrilous* Pamphlet, called *The Critical Review*,—'Without venturing to *criticise* on the Propriety of a Protestant offering up either *Hymns* or *Prayers* to the Dead, we *must* be of Opinion, that great Rapture and Devotion is discernable in this *extatic* Song. *It is* a fine Piece of Ruins, and must at once please and affect a *sensible Mind*.'—*Critical Review*, for April, 1763. The first part of this invidious Cavil is stupendous impudence against the truth of Christ Jesus, who has most confidently affirmed this same David to be alive in his Arguments for the Resurrection.—The last Assertion is an Insult by a most *cruel* insinuation upon the Majesty of the Legislature of Great Britain.—It is a pity that Men should be permitted to set up for Critics, who make it so evident, that they have neither Religion or Learning; since *candour* cannot subsist without the former, and there can be no Authority to pronounce *judgment* without the latter.

Christopher Smart."

This is the poem which Smart is supposed to have indented on the walls of his prison-chamber with a key. This statement has often been repeated. F. C[owslade], writing in the *Pall Mall* of January 20, 1887, refutes this, replying to a notice in that paper:

"I am tempted to ask, Was 'your own Dryasdust' indulging in a joke? Has he forgotten that the poem consists of 86 six-line stanzas, in all 516 lines? I am well aware that the statement has been seriously made by several authors, but I would simply ask, *Est-il possible?*" Mr. Cowslade is the great-great-grandson of Christopher Smart. Mr. Dyce in his copy of the 1763 edition, bequeathed to the South Kensington Museum, has inserted a note also questioning this story.

1763. XLIV.—Poems. By Mr. Smart.

viz. Reason and Imagination. A Fable.¶
Ode to Admiral Sir George Pocock.
Ode to General Draper.
An Epistle to John Sharrat, Esq.

Pravo Favore labi mortales solent,
Et pro judicio dum stant erroris sui
Ad pœnitendum Rebus Manifestis agi.—*Phaedr.*

London: Printed for the Author, and Sold by Mr. Fletcher & Co. in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and Mr. Laurence, Stationer, near Durham Yard, in the Strand. [B.M.]

4to. pp. 22. Price One Shilling.

This work was advertised along with the "Song to David" in "Poems on Several Occasions," (No. XLV) as "Lately published," with the following remarks:

"A little Miscellany that has been honoured with the Approbation of the first names in the Literary World.

"The Writers of the *Monthly Review*, however, after an *invidious silence* of a considerable Time, came to the final Resolution of imposing upon such Persons as had not seen the above Work, by a most *impudent* and *malicious* insinuation against the Author. They are therefore summoned to the Bar of the Publick, to answer the following *Queries*.

"Whether there is any Thing that they hate so much as Truth and Merit?

"Whether they have not depended upon their *malignity*, for the Sale of their Book from the beginning?

"Whether the writings of Mr. *Smart* in particular (his Prize Poems excepted) have not been constantly misreported to the Publick, by their despicable Pamphlet?

"Whether the Reverend Mr. *Langhorne* has not the poetical Department of the Monthly Review?

"Whether a certain *scandalous fellow*, who has oppressed Mr. *Smart* for these many years, did not wait upon *Griffiths*, and complain that he had been treated too mildly in a former Review?

"Whether the said *scandalous fellow* did not give Griffiths and others Money to defame *Mr. Smart*, as far as they dared?

"Whether, if this was not the Case, they do not act their Mischief without Motive, and serve the Devil from affection?"

[signed in ink] "Christopher Smart."

Only "Reason and Imagination" has been reprinted, in Poems, 1791.

1763 or 1764. XLV.—Poems on Several Occasions.

viz. Munificence and Modesty.

Female Dignity. To Lady Hussey Delaval.

Verses from Catullus, after Dining with Mr. Murray.

Epitaphs:

On the Duchess of Cleveland.

On Henry Fielding, Esq.

On the Rev. James Sheeles.

Epitaph from Demosthenes.

By Mr. Smart.

Attende cur negare cupidis debeas,
Modestis etiam offerre, quod non petierint.—*Phaedrus.*

London: Printed for the Author, and Sold by Mr. Fletcher & Co., St. Paul's Church-yard; Mr. Davies, in Russel-street, Covent Garden; Mr. Flexney, at Grays-Inn-Gate, Holborn; Mr. Laurence, near Durham-Yard; and Mr. Almon, in Picadilly.

Price One Shilling. [B.M. G.J.G.]

4to. pp. 16 + 2 of Advertisements (1 p. Specimen of Mr. Smart's Translation of the Psalms, and 1 p. advertising the "Song to David" and Poems, 1763).

Published either 1763 or 1764. Opposite the Title is advertised as Lately published. I. A Song to David. II. Poems—Reason and Imagination, etc. The Song to David was published 1763, and the Poems—Reason and Imagination, evidently at the same time, or soon afterwards, as these and the Poems on Several Occasions are advertised in the Ode to the Earl of Northumberland, 1764.

Only the "Epitaph from Demosthenes" re-printed in Poems, 1791.

1763.

Towards the end of the year, it appears that Smart's friends collected some money to help him out of his difficulties, and the following extracts refer to the matter:

"Amongst his (Goldsmith's) own papers at his death was found the copy of an appeal to the public for poor Kit Smart,* who had married Newbery's step-daughter ten years before, and had since, with his eccentricities and imprudences, wearied out all his friends but Goldsmith and Johnson. Very recently, as a last resource, he had been taken to a mad house. . . . Their exertions were successful. Smart was again at large at the close of

* Percy calls it (Letter to Malone, Oct. 17, 1786), "a paper which he wrote to set about a subscription for poor Smart, the mad poet."

the year, and on the third of the following April (1764) a sacred composition named *Hannah*, with his name as author, and music by Mr. Worgan, was produced at the King's theatre."*

(Forster's Goldsmith, 2nd. Ed., 1765. I. 367-8).

There is also a letter from the poet Gray to the Rev. Wm. Mason (after October), 1763. "I think it may be time enough to send poor Smart the money you have been so kind to collect for him when he has dropped his law suit, which I do not doubt must go against him if he pursues it. Gordon† (who lives here) knows and interests himself about him, from him I shall probably know if he can be persuaded to drop his design. There is a Mr. Anguish in town (with whom I fancy you were once acquainted); he probably can best inform you of his condition and motions, for I hear he continues to be very friendly to him."—Gray's Works, Gosse, III, 163.

1764. XLVI.—Hannah. An Oratorio. Written by Mr. Smart. Musick by Mr. Worgan.‡ As performed at the King's Theatre in the Hay-market.

—— Quæ maxima semper
Dicetur nobis, et erit quæ maxima semper.—*Virg.*

London: Printed for J. and R. Tonson in the Strand. Price One Shilling. [B.M.]

4to. pp. 24. (Words only.) Not reprinted.

1764. XLVII.—Ode To the Right Honourable the Earl of Northumberland, on his being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Presented on the Birth-day of Lord Warkworth. With some other Pieces. By Christopher Smart, A.M. Some time Fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, and Scholar of the University.

Quod verum atque decens curo.—*Hor.*

London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pall-mall; and Sold by J. Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCLXIV. [B.M.]

4to. Title, Advertisement + pp. 5-24.

* See No. XLVI.

† The Gordon referred to is probably the John Gordon who took a part in the performance of "A Trip to Cambridge," in 1747 (see No. VI). What the law suit was about I have been unable to discover. In Whitwell Elwin's *Some XVIIIth Century Men of Letters*, 1902 (II, 473), is a statement that in an interval of liberty "he [Smart] tried to prosecute the friends who were instrumental in incarcerating him."

‡ See also No. XVIII.

The other Pieces are:

To the Hon. Mrs. Draper.
On being asked by Colonel Hall to make verses upon Kingsley at Minden.
On a bed of Guernsey Lilies, written Sept., 1763.
Epitaph on the late Duke of Argyle.
ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΣ
" imitated. ("By birth a servant," etc.)
Epigramma Sannazani.
" " translated. ("When in the Adriatic," etc.)
Song. ("Where shall Cælia fly for shelter," etc.)
The Sweets of Evening.

Only the "Ode to the Earl of Northumberland," and "The Sweets of Evening," re-printed in Poems, 1791.

1765. XLVIII.—A Poetical Translation of the Fables of Phaedrus, with The Appendix of Gudius. And an accurate Edition of the Original on the opposite Page. To which is added, A Parsing Index for the use of Learners.

By Christopher Smart, A.M. Some time Fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, and Scholar of the University.

London: Printed for J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall: And Sold by J. Wilkie in St. Paul's Church-yard, and T. Merrill at Cambridge, MDCCLXV. [B.M. Dyce Library, South Kensington. G.J.G.]

12mo. Title, Dedication to Master J. H. Delaval (in which he speaks "of favours which I have received from your amiable and excellent parents,") iii–v; Advertisement, Tabula, viii-xvii; + Fables, 1–211; Appendix of Gudius, 212–221; + Parsing Index, 62 pp.

With a Frontispiece. S. Wale, *del.*; C. Grignion, *sculp.*

(2) [Translation only]. Phaedrus, with the Appendix of Gudius. Translated by Christopher Smart, A.M. Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. London: Printed by A. J. Valpy, M.A., and Sold by all Booksellers, 1831. 12mo. [B.M.]

(3) The translation of Phaedrus was printed with H. T. Riley's translation of the Comedies of Terence and Fables of Phaedrus. Bohn, 1853. [B.M.]

See Dr. Hawkesworth's letter: note to No. XXXV.

1765. XLIX.—A Translation of the Psalms of David, attempted in the Spirit of Christianity, and adapted to the Divine Service. By Christopher Smart, A.M. Some Time Fellow of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, and Scholar of the University.

Ταδε λεγει ὁ ἁγιος, ὁ ἀληθινος, ὁ ἐχων την κλειδα τυ Δαβιδ.
Rev. iii, 7.

London: Printed by Dryden Leach, for the Author; and Sold by C. Bathurst in Fleet-street, and W. Flexney, at Gray's Inn Gate; and T. Merril at Cambridge. MDCCLXV. [B.M.]

4to. Title, List of Subscribers, 11 pp. + Psalms, 1–153; Gloria Patri, 155-6; Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 157–183; Song to David, 185–194; and Errata, 1 p.

See 1763 (No. XXXVIII) for the Proposals for printing this work. The "Song to David" was first printed 1763 (see No. XXXIX).

1767. L.—The Works of Horace, Translated into Verse. With a Prose Interpretation, for the help of Students. And occasional notes. By Christopher Smart, A.M. Sometime Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Scholar of the University.

Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
Non aliena meo pressi pede, qui sibi fidit
Dux regit examen —— *Hor.* de seipso. [Vol. I].

London: Printed for W. Flexney, in Holborn; Messrs. Johnson & Co. in Pater-noster-Row; and T. Caston, near Stationers' Hall. MDCCLXVII. [Advocates' Library. B.M. Bodleian.]

4 Vols. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. xxxi–287; II, 302; III, xiv + 291; IV, 297. Dedicated to Sir Francis Blake Delaval. Vol. I contains Odes 1–3 (Ode 14); Vol. II, Odes 3 (Ode 15) and 4, Epodes, Ode on Saint Cecilia's Day, De Vita Horatii, etc., Synopsis Chronologica Romanæ Historiæ, Specimina Carminum Horatii, Syllabus Carminum Horatii; Vol. III, Dacerius' Preface to the Satires, and the Satires; Vol. IV, Epistles, and Art of Poetry.

At the end of Vols. II and IV is printed "Proposals for printing by subscription a Collection of Miscellaneous Poems by Christopher Smart, A.M.," dated from "Westminster, 1767."

See Dr. Hawkesworth's letter: note to No. XXXV.

1768. LI.—The Parables of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Done into familiar verse, with occasional applications, for the use and improvement

of younger minds. By Christopher Smart, M.A., Sometime Fellow of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, and Scholar of the University.

London: Printed for W. Owen, No. 11 near Temple-Bar, Fleet-Street. MDCCLXVIII. [B.M.]

12mo. pp. xiv + 175. Dedicated to Master Bonnell George Thornton, of Orchard Street, Westminster (eldest son of Bonnell and Sylvia Thornton, scarce Three Years of Age—according to the Dedication), and dated from Westminster, Feb. 24, 1768.

1768. LII.—Abimelech, An Oratorio. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden. The Music by Mr. Arnold.*

Et soror et Conjux.—*Virg.*

Sold at the Theatre. [B.M.]

4to. The Oratorio is in three parts, occupying 23 pp. Not reprinted.

Before 1775. LIII.—Hymns for the Amusement of Children. By Christopher Smart, M.A.

Third Edition.

London: Printed for T. Carnan, at No. 65, in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCLXXV. Price 6*d*. [Bodleian.]

pp. 84.

The work consists of 39 Hymns on Faith, Hope, Charity, etc., with an Illustration at the head of each.

Dedicated to H.R.H. Prince Frederick, Bishop of Osnabrug, whose portrait faces the Title-page.

These Hymns have no connection with the "Hymns and Spiritual Songs" printed in Smart's Translations of the Psalms, 1765.

The "Third Edition" is in the Bodleian Library, and I know of no other copy of this or any earlier edition. Not reprinted in any collection of Smart's Poems.

1771. 21 May. Smart died in the rules of the King's Bench and was buried in St. Paul's Church Yard.

Dr. Johnson's opinions on Smart's madness are worth quoting here:

"Madness frequently discovers itself merely by unnecessary deviation from the usual modes of the world. My poor friend Smart shewed the disturbance of his mind, by falling upon his knees, and saying his prayers in the street, or in any other unusual place. Now although, rationally speaking, it is greater madness not to pray at all, than to pray as Smart did, I am afraid there are so many who do not pray, that their understanding is not called in question."

* Samuel Arnold, Mus.D. (Oxford), b. 1740, d. 1802.

Concerning this unfortunate poet, who was confined in a mad-house, he had, at another time, the following conversation with Dr. Burney:—Burney: "How does poor Smart do, Sir; is he likely to recover?" Johnson: "It seems as if his mind had ceased to struggle with the disease; for he grows fat upon it." Burney: "Perhaps, Sir, that may be from want of exercise." Johnson: "No, Sir; he has partly as much exercise as he used to have, for he digs in the garden. Indeed, before his confinement, he used for exercise to walk to the ale-house; but he was *carried* back again. I did not think he ought to be shut up. His infirmities were not noxious to society. He insisted on people praying with him; and I'd as lief pray with Kit Smart as any one else. Another charge was, that he did not love clean linen; and I have no passion for it."—(Boswell's Johnson, Globe Ed., 133.)

LIV.—The Poems of the late Christopher Smart, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Consisting of His Prize Poems, Odes, Sonnets, and Fables, Latin and English Translations; together with many original compositions, not included in the Quarto Edition. To which is prefixed, An Account of his Life and Writings, never before published.

In Two Volumes.

Reading: Printed and sold by Smart and Cowslade; and sold by F. Power & Co. No. 65, St. Paul's Church-Yard, London, MDCCXCI. [B.M. Trinity College Library, Cambridge. G.J.G.]

Vol. I, with Portrait, pp. xliii + 230. Vol. II [6 pp.] + 251.

A copy of this work in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, belonged to Dr. Farmer, and has this inscription:

"From the Editor Francis Newbery, Esq., the Life by Mr. Hunter."

It contained all of the 1752 edition of the Poems, and the pieces mentioned at Nos. IV, VI, VIII, IX, X, XIII, XXII, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXVI, XLIV, XLV, XLVII, with the following added:

Vol. I. Ode to Lord Barnard.
Ode to Lady Harriot.
Ode to a Virginia Nightingale.
Martial. Bk. I. Ep. 26.
On a Lady throwing Snowballs.
New Version of Psalms. Ps. CXLVIII.*

Vol. II. Fables: The Wholesale Critic and the Hop Merchant.
The English Bull Dog.
The Duellist.
The Country Squire and the Mandrake.
The Brocaded Gown and Linen Rag.

* See Proposals for A New Translation of the Psalms, 1763, No. XXXVIII.

Madam and the Magpie.
The Blockhead and the Beehive.
The Citizen and the Red Lion of Brentford.
The Herald and Husbandman.
A Story of a Cock and a Bull.
The Snake, the Goose, and Nightingale.
Mrs. Abigail and the Dumb Waiter.
On my Wife's Birthday.
To Jenny Gray.
Epistle to Mrs. Tyler.
To the Earl of Darlington.
Epitaph on Rev. Mr. Reynolds.
Invitation to Mrs. Tyler.
To Miss S—— P——e.
Disertissime Romuli Nepotum &c. Imitated.
Fanny, Blooming fair.
Epitaph to the Apprentice.
Epilogue spoken by Mr. Shuter.

LV.—The Works of the British Poets. With Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, by Robert Anderson, M.D.* Vol. XI, 1794, pp. 115–203, contains all Smart's pieces printed in the 1791 edition of his Poems, with the following additions:

Extempore, In the King's Bench, on hearing a Raven croak.

Prologue to "A Trip to Cambridge," or the Grateful Fair, a Mock Play, acted at Pembroke College Hall, 1747.

Soliloquy of the Princess Perriwinkle (in the mock play, "A Trip to Cambridge").

Stanzas, in a Song to David.

LVI.—Chalmers' Edition of Johnson's Poets, 1810, Vol. XVI, pp. 1–106, contains all the pieces printed in the 1791 edition of the Poems, except the poem "To the Rev. Mr. Powell."

Since this paper was set up I have met with the following curious pamphlet:

LVII.—The Magazines blown up; or, They are all in the Suds. Being a full and true Account of the apprehending and taking of the notified

* Dr. Anderson also edited an edition of Smart's Horace in prose, 1827. See No. XXXV (10).

Pentweasle, an Oxford Scholar; in the Shape of an Old Woman: With his Examination before the Right Worshipful Justice Banter, and his Commitment to the *New-Prison*.

Together with an Account of his Impeachment of divers others, who were concern'd in many late barbarous Attempts on the Senses of his Majesty's liege Subjects.—With a *right* and *true* List of all their Names, who were taken, last Night, at a House of ill Fame near *St. Paul's*—With their whole Examination and Commitment by the said Gentleman.

To which is added,
A *Key* to the Back-Door.
The Whole done in plain *English*,
By Whacum Smack'em,
The greatest Satirist living;

Who can deep Mysteries unriddle,
As easily as thread a needle.—*Hudibras*.

Printed for John Cook, in *Paternoster-Row*; at so small and easy a Charge as Three-pence.

8vo. pp. 20. With a roughly engraved frontispiece, entitled The Magazine's Blown Up! Showing a shop (evidently Newbery's) over the door of which is a hanging sign consisting of the Sun and 'Dr. James's Powder Sold Here'; in the shop window is advertised 'British Oil.' A man coming out of the shop has his arms up in astonishment at the fire which is burning outside, and which is consuming Magazines with the following titles: Student, Magazine of Magazines, Kapelion, Lady's Mag., Traveller, Grand Mag. of Mag., Universal Mag., The Old Womans Mag. In the centre is a square box (qy ink pot) with a black well, entitled The Lakes of Genius. Titian Angelo Roughscratch invt. Raphael Woobcutt. Publish'd according to Act of Parliament For E. Cook in Pater Noster Row.

Published, probably in 1751, for there are several references to the Midwife, No. IV, which was issued about the middle of December, 1750, and to the Student, No. IX, which was issued in September, 1750.

One part of the examination is worth reproducing:

(p. 17) "*Just.* Pray, Mr. *Pentweasle*,* are you an *Oxonian*?

1st Pent. No, Sir——

2d. Pent. Yes, Sir.

Just. Pray, Gentlemen, give in your Answers uniform, or we must separate you.

1st Pent. Sir, I am of *Oxford.*

2d Pent. Sir, I am of *Cambridge.*

Both. Yet we are but one.

Just. How! both the Universities Club to make one *Old Woman!* very learned Bodies indeed! I am told, Gentlemen, that they are very remarkable Dreamers."

The portrait prefixed to this paper is reduced from a painting, believed to be by Reynolds, in the possession of Frederick Cowslade, Esq., of Reading, who has kindly consented to its reproduction.

* See Note to No. VIII (p. 274).

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